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DOCUMENTS ÉPIGRAPHIQUES
RECUEILLIS
DANS LE NORD DE L'ARABIE.

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DOCUMENTS ÉPIGRAPHIQUES
RECUEILLIS
DANS LE NORD DE L'ARABIE

PAR
M. CHARLES DOUGHTY.



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PAR
M. CHARLES DOUGHTY.

Au mois de janvier 1884, M. Charles Doughty, voyageur anglais bien connu par l'exploration qu'il a faite en 1876 et 1877 du nord de l'Arabie, voulut bien exprimer l'intention de donner à l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres les carnets et les estampages contenant les résultats épigraphiques de son voyage, à la condition que la publication de ces pièces se ferait par l'Académie le plus promptement possible.

La Commission des travaux littéraires, à qui la question fut soumise, n'ignorait pas que, en ce moment même, un voyageur honoré des plus hautes récompenses de la Société de géographie, M. Huber, accompagné d'un épigraphiste éminent, M. Euting, parcourt les mêmes régions qu'a explorées M. Doughty. Elle l'ignorait d'autant moins que c'est sous les auspices, en partie même avec les fonds de l'Académie, que travaille M. Huber, et que ce courageux explorateur s'est engagé à nous livrer tous les documents épigraphiques de son voyage¹. Mais c'est une des règles fondamentales de l'épigraphie de

¹ Dans son premier voyage d'Arabie, exécuté en 1881-1882, M. Huber vit plusieurs des textes copiés ou estampés par

M. Doughty. Il dessina en particulier un certain nombre d'inscriptions du genre dit safaitique. Voir *J. asiat.*, juillet 1882, p. 42.

ne laisser échapper aucun renseignement. Quand il s'agit de missions aussi dangereuses, la science n'est assurée d'un résultat qu'au moment où les documents originaux recueillis par les explorateurs sont arrivés entre les mains des savants européens. En outre, beaucoup de textes copiés par M. Doughty dans ses carnets auront pu échapper à MM. Huber et Euting. La Commission des travaux littéraires n'hésita donc pas : elle accepta le don de M. Doughty et la condition que le généreux donateur y mettait.

En conséquence, la Commission des inscriptions sémitiques fit toutes ses diligences pour procurer, par les procédés de M. Dujardin, des reproductions adéquates des précieux documents fournis par M. Doughty. Ces documents sont de trois sortes :

1° Deux carnets, formant un total de cinquante-six feuillets, couverts de copies des textes himyarites, safaitiques, araméens, grecs. que rencontrait journallement M. Doughty;

2° Une série de vingt-deux estampages des grandes inscriptions nabatéennes de Medaïn-Salih (El-Hidjr du Coran), et cinq ou six autres moins considérables;

3° Une carte et une série de dessins d'une exécution rapide, mais très exacte, de certains aspects, et en particulier des monuments de Medaïn-Salih.

Quelques pages de M. Doughty, que nous reproduisons textuellement, donneront l'exposé de l'itinéraire suivi par le hardi voyageur. Nous avons ajouté des transcriptions pour expliquer ce que certaines planches auraient d'obscur. Nous nous sommes presque bornés là. Ce que M. Doughty nous demandait, ce n'était pas une explication de ses inscriptions, mais une reproduction qui les mit sur-le-champ entre les mains des épigraphistes compétents. Nous nous sommes donc interdit un travail de commentaire qui eût inévitablement retardé la publication.

Les inscriptions nabatéennes de Medaïn-Salih se présentaient pourtant dans des conditions particulières. En préparant pour la photographie ces estampages, levés par M. Doughty au péril de sa vie, il

nous a été impossible de nous interdire de lire ces beaux textes, remplis de choses neuves, qui, dans certaines parties, nous sautaient en quelque sorte aux yeux. Dans mon cours au Collège de France, j'ai coutume de discuter avec mes auditeurs, dont quelques-uns sont des maîtres, les textes épigraphiques nouveaux, au fur et à mesure des découvertes. Les textes de Medaïn-Salih ont excité dans ces réunions philologiques un vif intérêt; une foule d'idées excellentes ont été proposées. Grâce aux précieuses divinations de nos savants confrères MM. Derenbourg et de Vogüé, à la rare sagacité de lecture de M. Philippe Berger, aux judicieuses observations de MM. Halévy, Clermont-Ganneau, Rubens Duval, il est possible dès à présent d'offrir une transcription à peu près complète et une traduction avec quelques lacunes de ces curieux textes. La volonté de M. Doughty et le désir de livrer le plus tôt possible les inscriptions découvertes par lui à la discussion savante nous interdisaient pour le moment de plus longues dissertations.

Par la même raison, nous n'insisterons pas sur les conséquences historiques et philologiques auxquelles conduisent les textes que nous devons à M. Doughty. Les savants voués aux études sémitiques découvriront sans peine l'importance des données nouvelles qui vont entrer dans la science. Deux influences se partageaient le nord de l'Arabie, vers l'époque de notre ère, l'influence iéménite, venant du Sud; l'influence du royaume nabatéen, venant de Pétra et de Bosra. Ces influences paraissent s'être rarement exercées à la fois sur une même localité. Ainsi Teima et Medaïn-Salih étaient des centres nabatéens; El-Alah, au contraire, près de Medaïn-Salih, était un centre iéménite. Teima présente des inscriptions araméennes fort anciennes¹. La série des textes nabatéens de Medaïn-Salih est tout entière du 1^{er} siècle de notre ère. L'extension du royaume nabatéen jusqu'à ces régions éloignées est un fait d'autant plus remarquable que Medaïn-Salih n'a jamais pu être une ville considérable. Les tom-

¹ Carnets, fol. 51-53.

beaux et quelques cippes religieux, voilà tout ce qu'on y trouve. Il est probable que les riches populations qui se sont fait construire ces beaux mausolées vivaient principalement sous la tente. L'analogie des monuments de Medaïn-Salih avec ceux de Pétra frappe tout d'abord. On remarquera aussi la ressemblance des mausolées dessinés par M. Doughty avec les tombeaux de la vallée de Cédron et les autres monuments funébres taillés dans le roc, aux environs de Jérusalem. On peut dire que, si l'âge de ces derniers monuments pouvait encore être douteux, il ne l'est plus. Voici, en effet, des monuments qui sont évidemment leurs contemporains, et qui portent des inscriptions les échelonnant avec certitude du temps d'Auguste au temps de Titus. Plusieurs des monuments de Medaïn-Salih portent même les noms des sculpteurs de pierre qui les ont taillés.

Ce qu'il y a de curieux, c'est que Mahomet vit sûrement ces inscriptions, que, de son temps, on ne savait plus lire; l'intelligence la plus superficielle du contenu lui eût appris que les grands caveaux au-dessus de l'entrée desquels se voient ces écritures sont des monuments funéraires. Or, à cinq ou six endroits du Coran¹, ces caveaux sont considérés comme des maisons de géants, comme les refuges de cette antique race de Thamoud, punie par Dieu pour ses crimes². Déjà, certaines objections avaient été tirées, par les écrivains arabes eux-mêmes, du peu d'élévation de quelques-uns de ces caveaux, qui en eût fait des maisons fort incommodes pour des géants³. Comme je lisais à M. Doughty le contenu essentiellement funéraire de ces textes, il ne put s'empêcher de faire la réflexion que ce serait là pour les musulmans une grave déconvenue. Pendant qu'il estampait avec des peines infinies ces textes, placés à de grandes hauteurs au-dessus de la porte des caveaux, les gens lui demandaient, non sans quelque

¹ *Coran*, sourates XI, XV, XXVI, LXXXIX. Voir Caussin de Perceval, *Histoire des Arabes avant l'islamisme*, I, p. 24 et suivantes; Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, II, p. 118.

² Les ornements en forme de créneaux à échelons qui décorent le haut des mausolées auront donné l'idée de maisons fortifiées.

³ Caussin de Perceval, p. 25.

inquiétude : « Y a-t-il dans ton pays des hommes capables de lire cette écriture ? » M. Doughty me dit que l'idée de tombeaux, qui mettrait le Coran en flagrant délit d'erreur archéologique, les troublait fort, et que les inscriptions subiront peut-être un jour la peine du démenti qu'elles infligent au livre révélé. Je ne le crois pas; l'apologie à outrance des textes sacrés ne reste jamais à court de réponse. Une réflexion, en tout cas, qu'il est difficile de ne pas faire, c'est le peu de recul que présente le lointain préhistorique des Arabes. Ces récits sur les demeures inexpugnables des Thamoudites étaient rapportés, du temps de Mahomet, à une fabuleuse antiquité. Or ces prétendues maisons taillées dans le roc n'avaient guère plus de cinq cents ans quand Mahomet les vit, et, si ses contemporains avaient eu quelque peu d'instinct paléographique, ils auraient pu lire quelques mots des inscriptions qu'ils avaient devant les yeux.

Les personnes versées dans les langues sémitiques remarqueront le grand nombre de mots arabes contenus dans ces textes syriaques. Ici, comme à Palmyre, les noms propres sont presque tous arabes, tandis que la langue est araméenne. Les inscriptions grecques du Hauran et les inscriptions sinaïtiques, tout à fait sœurs des nôtres, avaient déjà révélé le même fait. Enfin, les inscriptions safaitiques, jusqu'ici isolées, se trouvent maintenant n'être plus que la pointe avancée d'un genre d'écriture embrassant tout le nord de l'Arabie. Quatre ou cinq groupes de faits, qui se rattachaient mal les uns aux autres, se trouvent ainsi réunis et expliqués par la découverte de M. Doughty. La paléographie sémitique en tirera les plus grandes lumières. Nos vingt-deux textes nabatéens, en effet, s'étagent, avec des dates précises, dans un espace d'environ quatre-vingts ans. On peut donc suivre la marche de l'écriture araméenne pendant près d'un siècle, et la voir, presque d'année en année, prendre un caractère de plus en plus cursif. L'écriture de nos monuments est comme le point central d'où l'on découvre le mieux l'affinité du vieil araméen, du caractère carré des Juifs, du palmyrénien, du sinaïtique, de l'estranghelo, du coufique, du nesghi.

L'histoire de l'écriture dans l'ancienne Arabie se trouve de la sorte éclairée en presque toutes ses parties. C'est là un progrès considérable, si l'on songe que, il y a soixante-quinze ans, l'illustre Silvestre de Sacy consacrait un de ses plus savants mémoires à prouver qu'on n'écrivait pas en Arabie avant Mahomet.

ERNEST RENAN.

NOTE DE M. DOUGHTY

SUR SON VOYAGE.

In the spring of the year 1875, I came upward with Beduins from Sinai to *Mān* upon the *Haj* road in Edom, and went on to visit the chambered rocks of Petra, where the villagers of *Elgy*, in Wady Mousa, seeing one arrive, as it were an *hajjy* from the southward, asked me if I had not already visited *Medain Ṣaliḥ* upon the *derb el-Haj* and where, they said, lie 7 cities hewn in as many mountains, and the monuments there like these before our eyes, as they might be the work of one craftsman. Such also said the secretary of the small road garrison at *Mān*, who, a well-lettered man, spoke to me further of inscriptions sculptured in some strange characters, which, he said, to be commonly upon those *Medain Ṣaliḥ* frontispieces, and the *effigies* of a bird with his wings displayed. In former years he had very often passed the place, riding with the guard in every pilgrimage to the *Haramayn*. Such birds are not seen sculptured upon the Petra frontispieces or most rarely; nor in all the Wady Mousa monuments had I found more than one inscription, and that is very large and several lines, of some well sculptured semitic characters upon a simple frontispiece in the western valley side with 3 pilasters, which, with their parietes, are broken through below.

Medain Ṣaliḥ is ten journeys on the road from *Mān*; as those inscriptions might import much to our biblical studies, all my mind was presently to go thither, but the *kaimakam* of *Mān* thwarted me, forbidding those set under his orders and all persons in the faith of the *Dowla* to accompany or further me in any manner; the longer way, he said, was of too much danger for me in the wild Beduin country, I might be cut off, and being a Frank, he might be called another day to give an account therefore to the rulers at Damascus. Thus, my endeavour frustrated, I rode further through

the steppes of *Jebel Sherrah*, which is the biblical Seir or Edom, uplands full of ruined sites and, such as I afterwards saw in the highlands of Moab, which are of hamlets and villages. Their antique building is, after the expedite and incenrious semitic rudeness, of the wild stones laid without mortar. Only in a few sites of towns Uthera, Maan ruins, Jardanieh is seen any (perhaps Roman) curiosity of squared building stones and arches. It may be said that the ancients of these countries were commonly stone-builders, whereas their Mohammedan successors, in all things, certainly of less civil diligence and ability, are commonly clay-builders. Only at *El-Ally* and *Khaybar*, which are reckoned to the Hejaz, have I seen the Mohammedan Arabian villages to be yet of stone-builders. The high platform country of *Jebel Sherrah* has a general altitude of 4000 feet. The face of a vast desert about Maan is flint gravel upon limestone, and which, scoured by the secular winds and rains, appears much as an endless sea beach of pebbles. The surface pebble-stones lie blackened in the weather and polished by the sand-bearing wind. The name of that singular land-breath of stones, nearly 50 miles wide and long, is *Árd e' Suwán* «The Flint-Land», which may seem to respond to Arabia Petraea of the Alexandrine geographers. Since this flint country is the highest soil in a great circuit about, we have here a problem in Geology of no easy solution. In this gravel, which is sometimes as much as 20 feet deep, I have found flint instruments (at Maan) which are large and diversely well shaped, and perfectly resemble the best of those so commonly known from St. Acheul, in France, and Hoxne, in England, and other places.

Riding by the pilgrim road northward from Maan, I found first *Jardanieh*, lava-built ruins of a four-square fortified place, not large; and that the soil is thin thereabout and not arable which might have been, I could think, of some wayside praesidium. Next *Bormah*, ruins a little above to the westward are said by the Arabs to be considerable. Beyond the *Wady el-Hassy*, which separates Edom and Moab, I found at Dattras (or Dhat Ras) some temple or palatial ruins, well worthy to be visited at more leisure, of white crystalline limestone or marble. From Kerak I rode to many ruined sites about, as those in the mountain of Edom. In none of them might I ever perceive an inscription; I may not say that there are none, since the eyes and strength of my unlettered companions, commonly Beduins, could not help me, and mine both failed me. The principal sites which I saw, as of small rui-

ned towns are named Medaibia and Mehai and Ensheynish and Nikkel nigh them, which I saw not, are said by the Arabs to be yet more considerable. Arrived from this wandering in the beyond-Jordan lands at Damascus, I sought by what means I might fulfil that which was determined in my mind of the inscriptions at Medain Şalih. This year passed over me in tedious endeavours at Damascus, and the next (1876) till the autumn; I found no way open to Arabia. At this fruitless length certain Mussleman friends said to me : « What is this that thou wouldst go to Medain Şalih? Go not thither; but and thou must needs go, there is for thee an only way, which is with the Haj, now about departing. It is hard, aye; but for this be not afraid, that thou art a Nasarany, thou goest not to Medina or Mecca but to Medain Şalih, who can forbid thee? Go boldly, the Pasha himself has no power to forbid any man the Caravan's company. » This counsel of theirs I thought well enough in a nearly desperate case; but the last of the hajjaj of this year were already out of the town, and the most were gone down now since five days to the encampment at *Muzzerib*, two journeys southward in the desert, which is the yearly assembling place of the great pilgrimage caravan. The worst was that my Consul had refused in any manner whatsoever within his office or out of his office to recommend my safety in this journey to the care of the great Haj officers. That functionary by this Turkish putting off, as he said, of all responsibility, thus ignobly projected me to a hundred cruel deaths in the wild Arabian land : for which original lack of commendations I came near many times afterward in my long journeys, to be foully murdered, and suffered of the base Mohammedan insolence blows hard to be borne by any liberal mind. I must now, taking my life only in my right hand go, not as I would openly, but steal down as a thief secretly, in the army of turbaned pilgrims, to Medain Şalih. I found hastily a Persian *mukowwam*, or camel furnisher to the Persian company in the hajjaj, who yet lingered for his affairs in the city and would set out at afternoon to ride with a forced march to Muzzerib, and agreed with him for a camel to Medain Şalih. Then clothing myself as a Syrian townsman of the middle sort of fortune, and taking a little money and a sack of caravan biscuit, I was ready in an hour; we arrived the next evening at Muzzerib camp. The pilgrimage were yet to repose one day and the morrow after, the camp levied, at the signal gunshot all was loaded and the hajjaj, mounted upon their camels and in litters, set forward upon the great yearly

pilgrimage of four months : it is forty marches, many of them are very long ones, from hence to Mecca.

Since thirty years the pilgrimage caravan, they say, is much diminished. The religious zeal is perhaps, in the last decades, more of human reason, the people also are impoverished by a criminal government; besides the sea-way is open, which howbeit they think less meritorious is of fewer easy days and not of this cost, and their pilgrim women now take nearly always, shipping to Mecca. The Hāj was this year, after their common opinion, 6,000 persons, with 10,000 cattle; the most burden camels, then litter mules, the soldiers hackneys and dromedaries and asses : the ass patient of thirst and of hard fare is only less than the camel, a beast of the desert. Above a half of the great company are men of the Hāj service, the more part poor servants, marching painfully on foot year after year thus to the sacred cities. By these, inured to the old discipline of the road, is maintained that good order of the pilgrim army, both marching and encamped in the field. The length of the column with four camels abreast was nearly two miles. I thought as we rode, that the caravan of Moses (which might be no wider in the most strait labyrinth of Sinai valleys) their women and children reckoned with their riding cattle, and the droves, should be longer than a hundred leagues, if there were anything of trust in the semitic numbers. The Hāj escort is above 200 irregular soldiery, Syrian troopers with two field pieces and Aḡeyl or armed dromedary riders, which are certain Arabian mercenaries of Nejd and commonly *kaşim* men serving the border Ottoman Governments at Bagdad, Medina, and Damascus. The Emīr el-Hāj is some new officer sent yearly from Stamboul; he formally accompanies the pilgrimage, but a Syrian Pasha, who is appointed for a term of years, is conductor of the caravan, and namely through the great deserts of the Beduw, of doubtful faith, to the holy places. It is ten journeys of the Hāj through Ammon, Moab, and Edom, limestone uplands always ascending, to Maan. Early the second day beyond Maan we go down by the deep passage *El-Akaba*, *c' Shemmia*, in the sandstones of *El-Ijisma*, to the sands of Arabia. The Hāj march henceforward almost, as they say, day and night, for the scarcity of water; and *Tebuk* passed (whose ancient name the country Beduins report, was *Yarmūk*, — it is an antique site, which is witnessed by certain walling of colossal blocks about an ancient spring) we come next to water at the *Kellat el-Akhḍar*. A little above I first found an inscription (pl. I, fol. a)

in Arabia. The Haj road Kellas are water-stations of wells, and more seldom springs, in the desert fortified with a tower built in former times at distances of two or three marches after the opportunity of water; some are abandoned and ruined; those that serve in these days are kept by garrisons of 5 or 6 men now mostly Moors adventurers. In the building-stones of this Kella I found rude scored inscriptions and in our next march some other more in the *Hady e' Sany* (pl. I and II, fol. b, c, d).

The 20th morrow of our marches we descended by the passage *Mubrak e' Naka*, a place of cursing (so called by the devout pilgrims after their doctors' mythology as where the miraculous she-camel fell down wounded to death, but by the country Beduins, ignorant of these forged vanities *el-Mezham*) to the valley plain of *Medain Salih*, a name which is of the same Mohammedan mythology, but the site is only named by the country Beduins *El-Hejr* (*El-Hijr* of the Koran, Ἐγρα in Ptol., *Hejra* of Plin.). *El-Hejr* is this desolate wide bottom of loamy sand (which watered is more fertile soil than the most of their oases) with knots upon infinite little blown sand-hillocks of *e' rimth*, most common of the desert pasture bushes. This Hejr ground, 3 hours wide, in the midst is seen encompassed with high fantastic precipices as it were towers and towns of that sandstone rock whereover we have now painfully marched since Akaba, but in none of these are the cities of Salih! Next, the spires and pinnacles are seen 2 hours before us from the Mezham of the wasting sandstone mountain Ethlib and landmark of Medain Salih (pl. XXXII, fig. 1). And in Ethlib my companions told me I should see to-day the subverted dwellings of Thamoud, the *bent* aye, standing as it were upside down. Such is the wilful blindness of their ignorant fantasies. Yet the hewn houses of Thamoud are not at all in Ethlib, but in the next rocks of the plain. Westwards, high above the border cliffs of the plain, appears an immane platform mountain, the black terrace height is a vastity, I have later found, of deep flooded lavas; thereupon some black hills visible are cinder cones of spent volcanoes. That is the great *Harrat el Aueyril* (of عريض) which seen first a little under Tebuk trends with the Haj road for a hundred miles to some leagues below *el-Ally* (Map, pl. XXIX). In Damascus already, I had made the acquaintance of the surveyor of this and the next Kellas; and as the Nomads of the country, to whom I had preferred here to trust my life, were encamped 50 miles distant towards Teyma, I went to lodge in the tower at Medain Salih. The same night the Haj departed, and I remained with

the Moorish garrison at El-Hejr. This country of the valley-plain is reckoned one of the most infested by the Beduin *Ghrazz*. We lived from day to day in continual alarms and were any desried, by the guard, in the plain or strange footprints reported by the herdsmen, the *Ḳella* iron door was shut, and in the solitary tower we lived as upon shipboard in the immense desert. For me within was a more dangerous living; some of the garrison of Moors adventurers making their daily petition to the surveyor, to permit to them, they said, a good work, which were also of the religion and well pleasing, to Ullah, to take away the Nasarany's life and profitable to them since they should divide my spoils and seeing my own *Konsul* (a name which they all fear) as he told them, had expressly forsaken the care of my life in Damascus, of no after-danger to themselves of any inquisition to be made for my blood.

When first I could come abroad I saw the next monuments of Medain Ṣaliḥ (fig. 3) and frontispieces in sight of the *Kaṣr el-Bint* rocks (fig. 4), to be altogether like to those of Petra, which I had visited in the former year. I saw the site of the old caravan city Hejra to be barren soil, without ruins or buildings, which were then (after the likelihood of these lands), of clay-builders; such as appears for the most, at the Metropolis Petra, and their houses are melted again to the common soil. The like is said of the Assyrian cities, and may as well be thought of ancient Athens in our own world, upon whose site it is said, there were not found house-heaps of stones, nor is the impression of any ancient quarry of common building stone seen in that neighbourhood. Of the ancient wells *Abar Thamoud*, which were yet in late ages so many in this once fruitful plain, a few remain together near Ethlib, 7 fathoms sunk to the rock and lined with dry building of rude stones, where is a summer watering of the country Beduins; the *Ḳella* itself is built upon the *bir e' naḳa* whereof, they tell, was watered that miraculous she-camel, and of this only, after the Mohammedan divines, is it lawful to drink in all the Hejr country subverted by God's judgment.

It would be ten weeks, ere the returning Ḥaj passing upwards, should carry me again from Medain Ṣaliḥ. From time to time after the first days when I began to gain more liberty, I went out with some of the garrison to discover the Hejr monuments, which I think may be in all nearly a hundred, and the furthest from the tower are not more than two miles distant. And such they are always, as the most common aspect of the frontis-

pieces seen sculptured in the same sand-rock at Petra, only very few I found and inconsiderable in the Borj crags which are of any other manner (fig. 5, 6, 7 and 8). The hewn chambers of the cliffs in Wady Mousa are first, after the appearance, certain few public halls and temples; of the rest I had already taken the most to be sepulchral. But here, at El-Hejr, wherever I entered under a frontispiece I found the inner hewn chamber to be plainly of sepulture. Graves are plainly the pits hewn in the rock floors, often full of human bones. These *beut* are abodes indeed, but as the « desolate places » of Job they are abodes of the dead. In certain of them with deep sanded floors, which exhale a heavy mummy odour, I saw great plenty of yellow and brown cloths, shivering in every wind and found them to be such as mummy cloths, some finer than other; also shreds of leather, some thick as camel hide or goat skin the welts daubed with asphalte, and a leather which has been painted red. Nomad women had lately digged in this sand a matter, and we also found it abundantly, which they sold in the market village *El-Ally* and at Medina as *bakhour* and which gives up when cast upon the coals an earthy, somewhat nauseous odour of frankincense to the nostrils : that frankincense, remaining to us from Christ's time is doubtless *thus* of the Sabæans which so long perfumed the temple of Jehovah upon mount Moriah and the delubra of the pagan world. It is likely we have to see in such monuments, I say not in all, a burial custom of winding the corse in two or more kinds of cere cloths with spices (we read in the Gospels such was the manner of the Jews in Herod's time) and sewing the whole with thongs bestowed in a leather, the seams to be smeared with asphalte.

The sepulchral chambers within are but rough-hewn low cavernous walls, not dressed to the line and square, nothing answerable to the curious pomp and solemnity of their barbaresque sculptured frontispieces, imitated from the Corinthian architecture; the heights within may be commonly 7 to 11 feet, a tenth or an eighth part of the loftiest frontispieces. The grave chambers are simple or manifold with side chambers after the number of the burials, and the branches, it may well be, of their kindred. That of the greatest of all the monuments, called therefore fondly at the Kella, *Maḥal el-Mejlis* (fig. 9) is no more than a rude cell in the rock with two burial places and the vast frontispiece is seen not perfectly finished to the ground, but is not dumb; the title of the engrossed cursive letters is here strangely an only line, filling all the inscription tablet, which occurs again to eyes

of readers now after nearly 2,000 years (pl. LVII, n° 22). After the appearance at El-Hejr, before all were wrought the sepulchral caverns and the frontispiece afterward, and that is from above downward, and sometimes (as manifestly not of little cost) by degrees, so that certain have remained unfinished. Entering the monument (fig. 10) we are astonished to find a double funeral chamber and numerous burials, when without only as it were the forehead of the frontispiece face is sculptured, the rest of the lineaments are yet in the womb of the massy wild crag below the tablet. Was this the eternal dwelling of some honest sheykly family, but not abounding in the world? But thanks to the learned decipherers who take pleasure in these remote studies, we may now read also this title (pl. L, n° 4). Again number 11 is a small monument which seems from the first to have been abandoned. In the sides of the sepulchral chambers are commonly seen certain *loculi* (fig. 12, 13, 14) for length, agreeable to the human nature, from the child to the grown man, appearing as grave-places, but their depth is of a span only; the deepest were not a shelf, I can think, sufficing to the natural body of a child. Like to these are seen certain sculptured also, without a great funeral monument (*Beyt Akhreyamat*) which is the most sumptuous at El-Hejr (fig. 15). Here we may perhaps compare some for the form, grave-like, superficial pits upon the *Borj* rock, and in the shelf of rock before a fair monument of the Kasr el-Bint cliffs (fig. 16) and which are a span only deep in the rock. Among those, very numerous, in the borj crag are two, which hewn deep as graves, were, in my opinion, sepulchres. The manner is well-known of ancient Arabia to bury in the side of the grave; we see in Daniel the antique nations dead in the sides of the pit of hell.

It is certain that the tombs have been very long violated. Nothing falls more kindly to the indolently uningenious and sharp set Arab natures than the seeking of treasure, and there should hinder them here no religion of the dead in idolatry. After the mummy cloths, I had hoped to find some written paper or leather, but the Arabs told me they had never seen *hortas* in any monuments. In fig. 12 are shown some mortuary closets (having bone pits in the floors) in whose walls the stone-hewers have left certain bosses of the rock, with channels, as they might have supported shelves. The covercles of the sepulchres and the doors of the desolate mansions, I could think to have been wooden, which were in this country (where also is no

stone for slabs) of the acacia timber or less likely of tamarisk; but such have been long since consumed doubtless, at the cheerful watchfires of the Nomad booths. The wooden boards and doors (howbeit under this climate enduring for ages) was as the humble human frailty of those stately dwellings of their deceased bodies, that seemed besides inexpugnable, allied to the eternity of the mountains. There is a mortise seen in all doorways (fig. 13, 14), as which should receive the bolt of a wooden lock. Notwithstanding the imitating Romaic magnificence of these merchants to the Sabeans, there is not found any ancient marble fragment in all the Hejra site, it sufficed them to «write with an iron pen for ever» upon the soft and rude sand rock of these Arabian mountains; and whereas in the more considerable sites, before mentioned, of mount Seir, fragments even now abound of ancient white marble; which gathered in them as from a quarry in former ages, after the tradition, have been conveyed to Syria to be made pavements in the beautiful courts of the Damaseus houses.

The frontispieces, more nearly regarded, appear not always dressed so nicely as our eyes require, to the architectural symmetry. So that in this factitious hewn architecture, we seem to have shown the semitic naturally incurious expedite ineptitude of mind. A good example may be seen in the same noble frontispiece (fig. 15), in which the tablet and pediment are less than evenly centred. In this sandstone, nothing can be finely sculptured. The pediments bear commonly some globular and channelled side ornaments, with what intention I could not perceive; solid they are and might be thought to signify cinerary urns. In a few side ornaments of the pediment are the *effigies* of some four footed animals (see the same Beyt Akhreyimat, fig. 15 and fig. 6 and 8). For more clearness I have made the little chart (pl. XXXI, n° 17) of the Hejr site and divided the main ranges of monuments (*beyban*) in their cliffs and crags thus: the Borj rocks, Kaşr el-Bint rocks, Middle rocks and Western rocks (pl. XXXIII, fig. 18): to which add the crags commonly of single monuments outlying. It is of such as I can understand that the pilgrims (for the Beduins are in their natural malicious simplicity of more perspicuous mind), have purblindly imagined the several cities of Şaliḥ: all the Hejr monuments are named by the Nomads *K'şşoar B'theyry*. Of the Kaşr el-Bint rocks, a long crag with ranges all round of monuments, the western flank is already shewn in fig. 4 (pl. XXXIII) and named of that singular vast monument work appearing above and hardly accessible which

si no more than a *rasm* : in the midst of so wide a battlement (of nearly 70 feet) without cornices, is but a blind door little entering into the soft rock; there is no sepulchral cavern or inscription. In these cliffs are found some of the best frontispieces with sculptured birds, whose place is always a sculptured pedestal at the wall upon the *fastigium* of the pediment. In some other Hejr monuments, as in the same (fig. 15) is seen the pedestal only, without any sculptured bird. The strange severe frontispieces, of cornices and pilasters appearing of one manner, are yet all diverse, and in many there is not so much as a pedestal. These birds which in the most have partly displayed wings, as in posture of rising to flight, are found (but fewer) in the other ranges of monuments. I think the sculptured fowls adorn nearly a fourth part of all the Medain Şalih frontispieces. They are of somewhat massy work, as in gross-grained weak sand-rock, nor are all seen of one semblance. What bird or birds the sculptors intended, cannot be easily discerned : when I asked the Arahs, some answered « the falcon or an eagle »; that shewn in fig. 19 is liker an owl, for the body, but is not such probably, wanting the feathered wheel of the head. The Beduins will say « it is some sea fowl »; that is some strange bird : this they can think rather by that shown in fig. 7, of a long bill and made flat with the body, which also is sculptured only, of all birds in the monuments, in *basso relievo*. There is no other sculptured bird at El-Hejr which is not seen headless and that may be, I can suppose, of the idle stone-cast of the generations of the Nomads. The frontispieces of the middle rocks are, so to say, of a less haughty presence; the crags there also of insufficient height and the stone is softer. What should signify the bird, if it be not manifested in the inscriptions? What likelihood that these wealthy citizen caravaners of the gold and frankincense road, Arabians and free Nabatean borderers should be so tame assentors in their hearts to the Romish glory, that they should set the tyrannous emblem even to their deaths and eternal monuments in Arabia! Should these be some Hejra ensign then or banner of a town faction? Or not rather, since death is sacred to religion, of their superstition? Be these the birds of the soul, after the opinion of the ancient Arabians, which flitted from the forehead of their deceased carcases? The holes, at is were of nails, are seen upon some few imperfect or marred frontispieces (fig. 22, 23, even upon the Beyt e' Çany which is loftiest of all monuments at El-Hejr). These may be (after the judgment of a great architect) holes of

pins by which, in some default of the stone, wooden cornices, had been fastened upon those monuments. In a few tympana is sculptured a human face (fig. 24 to 29) with long side locks, nearly as it were, the *krûn* of the Beduins. They are all wasted, one excepted (fig. 29), which cannot be perceived from the ground, and has remained therefore, uninjured. This, found in my afterward climbing, I beheld then first since so long ages; a sun-like round visage with the hair and side locks, wide flat nostrils, some thin beard, a mouth with teeth and bleating out the tongue, which is a human gesture of derision in all nations. The pilasters with the chapiters are always after one singular barbaresque manner, and which I had seen and noted formerly in the frontispieces of Wady Mousa. As for the formal pinnacles which so strangely crown their blind Corinthian temple architecture (see also fig. 30 and 31), they are no more than that common pinnacle which I since found made in casements and upon walls of their house building at Hayil; it is an Asiatic device, a cornice to be seen in buildings of all ages from Phœnicia to India.

The tower-warden was always in doubt of my wandering without the fortress alone and to the monuments not in sight, and seldom any of the garrison had accompanied me; but I now gained so much of my natural liberty that I went most days abroad with my telescope from the early mornings and were I surprised at the monuments, yet secretly armed, I confided that also from such adventure of Arabs I should return safely. The danger is to be shot at by landlopers stalking behind the crags of the monuments, and one seeing them not. In these daily excursions visiting and revisiting them I explored all the sepulchral chambers. On the wild crags with ancient *wasms* (camel brands) of antique tribes, which in their simplicity often resemble the Himyaric letters, I had found also many scored inscriptions and transcribed with careful haste, but especially searching round by Ethlib, and the most being such as I had seen formerly in Sinai. But the epitaphs most moved me which I viewed upon many a height of the frontispieces since it was for these I had adventured so much to journey to Medain Šalih. The inscription tablet is not upon all, in others it is not engraved; yet the titles I saw in them, Nabatean-like, some written square-wise, some in nearly cursive characters, might be five and twenty; but all were very far above man's reach besides two: to one of them I attained (fig. 10) climbing by the unhewn rock boss below, to the other standing upon the

sandbank, drifted high before the doorway. I sought with the use of my telescope to transcribe the epitaphs, but I could not follow that labyrinth of strange scripture securely, and sometimes of uncertain aspect in that dazzling winter sunlight. By tying cross cords betwixt tent poles I next hoped to attain the lower epitaphs, but this also was without hap.

I had now well viewed the ground of ancient Hējr which lies, in my opinion, within the monuments marked by plots of broken glass and potsherds, indestructible matter, as is often to see in antique sites of Syria, and small coppers coins (called by the Beduins *Himmarit* — the least defaced are himyarite) in sort that these citizens (as they of Petra and the Palmyrians) should behold the monuments of their families eternally standing round about them. Sometimes is obscurely seen about the potsherd plots (see map), as some ground work of clay walling. After the appearance I should conjecture *Hejra emporium* of the caravans, to have been four or five clustered palm hamlets or villages, and in the manner of oases in the Arabian desert countries, after the veins and opportunity of ground water. We have seen there are no ruins. The Kellā made of old by Sultan Selim, a great benefactor of the Hāj road, is of stone building; and from whence these stones? Certainly we must think they are of old Hējr. I have found some rare ground courses in the plain, uncovered by the wind, of rude stone-laying in clay without mortar. Upon such, I believe, they built their small ancient houses, as it is now a common manner in the Syrian countries, and these stones and the dry stone building of the old lined wells have been taken up in late times to build the Kellā. I have found only two very small quarries in searching through all the plain; I think the stones from them might not suffice to build one great house. Other stones they had of the hewers' waste of the monuments, as those seen in heaps that have remained beside the vast monument, never perfected, *Mahal-el-Mejlis* (fig. 9). I found also inscriptions upon two stones of the Kellā walls, in Himyaric letters (inscr. 29 and 30) whereas the rest, entailed or scored, at El-Hējr are all, with hardly any exception, Nabatean.

There are upon all this plain scattered volcanic scorīæ a flotsam doubtless of the great Aueyrīd Harra; but there is no appearance of any volcanic catastrophe of Hējra, or I might have found probably the black powder and *lapilli*, which so greatly abound in all volcanic eruptions. Earthquakes, notwithstanding the scores of spent *Volcanelli* upon the next Harra, are

unknown at this day in all the country. Old Hejra, of the frankincense road, was in the head of ways to the north¹. From this *sūk* there went a way to Teyma, another which is to-day the Haj road, to Māan and Petra, a third to the port of Hejra at the sea coast. As the so tedious and costly and always dangerous land traffic was in time left more and more for the sea carriage, the old road *sûks* should needs decay, and the staple of El-Hejr must in the end be left desolate, and this was so shortly that of the name was already grown a monstrous fable in Mohammed's time; yet a small village there was here in the time of the crusaders.

I found now an opportunity to go down to El-Ally, the oasis and market village of this country, hardly 10 miles distant to the southward in *Wady el-Kurra* (*Kûra*) and reckoned the first soil of the Hejaz and last of the subverted plain of El-Hejr. The Arab friends said I should see there also other like things of antiquity. In a strait of the mountain (pl. XXX) some half a mile above the village is the ruined site of a considerable ancient place and one, as they say, of the old villages of El-Hejr, but of whose name there is no remembrance, they call it of the ruins, *el-Khreyby*. — The names of some towns perished only 5 or 6 centuries, I have found to be quite worn out of mind in Arabia. Thus before my coming to El-Kasim no man had heard of *Jarada* which is mentioned in the old Mohammedan authors as the metropolis of that country and only then, upon these enquiries, the site was probably found to be near *e'Rass*. So the Sheykhs at el-Ally had never heard, nor any in the country of *Korh*, that should be in the same valley nearer El-Medina which notwithstanding is mentioned, as a populous town of busy traffic, five centuries before². It may seem that the Semitics have also in their tradition little just feeling of numbers: Hejr, the city of Thamoud, flowering with these monuments in the time of Christ's life only 5 centuries before Mohammed, the fabulous doctors of Islam have solemnly referred back to the hollowness and womb of time, in the infancy of the world.

El-Khreyby site is a deep wilderness of building stones, the most untrimmed, as they were poured down from the falling (stone-built) houses, and yet under this ruin of stones may be seen some remnant of clay walling. Here then were citizen stone-builders, as at El-Hejr were builders of clay, and in

¹ Sprenger, *Ancient Geography of Arabia*.

² Sprenger, *Ancient Geography*.

the rest unlike also, and though the distance of so few miles dividing them. I found some inscriptions engraved upon the sandstone natural and partly hewn cliff backward, and more scored upon the wild rocks which are always Himyarish. Here was seated surely some colony of the Sabean south whereas Hejra was of the northern civil life. Further in the same cliff are seen a few, appearing as it were dark casements, of their sepulchres, which in the precipice are square-mouthed simple *loculi* hewn back in the here hard iron-stone sand-rock. They regard always the west whereas the sumptuous frontispieces at El-Hejr sculptured after the opportunity of their crags are turned to all quarters, saving the southward. Certain are shown in fig. 32, and which I think the most remarkable, for the strange image-tablets above some of them. The place is so unvisited and what for the dangerous *boghras*, here often beset by robbers, that I found they had been seen at any time by very few of the Allowna villagers. Those quaint image are fondly called by the Arabs, comparing them with wimpled women, *benat*, they seemed to me rather like the Egyptian sarcophagus (fig. 33). They are a pair over a sepulchral cell in the midst, and betwixt them a tablet made in the rock, but without title. The inscription in good Himyarish letters is seen engraved upon the rock's face next below the inscription tablet. The good eyes of my rude companions could not aid me to transcribe it, and my own were unavailing. Another pair of *benat*, and sculptured with some diversity, (in the heads) are seen in one tablet together, above a *loculus* beyond. There is an inscription, likewise Himyarish, in the backward angle of the cliff more than 20 feet on height, which has been marked by footholes made in the rock, but is now inaccessible. A few other of their monuments appear under the cliff, as simple hewn caverns; entering some one I found it a small chamber with certain grave like surface pits: — Could such pits be as socles of some kind of sarcophagus which has perished? Stones are continually carried from hence to El-Ally, that is a small desert town, as said, of rude stone building laid with clay, and I found more Himyaric inscriptions, from the Khreyby, upon building stones in their walls (Inscr., fol. 20 and seq.). El-Ally is of late foundation, the most ancient name of the site remembered is *Baith Naam* and *Shaab Naam*. The former has some resemblance to the *Bada-Natha* of Pliny. In the next mountain valleys, southward towards Medina, are very many ruined sites of good villages; a sandstone country by likelihood full of inscriptions, and

which I desired to visit, but for some presentiment, which is commonly an imperfect rational argument, and that it should carry me, for the shortness of the time, beside my first purpose and not yet fully accomplished, in this journey, which was the discovery of Medain Şalîh.

Returned to El-Hejr, there remained to obtain faithful copies, in some manner, of the monumental epitaphs. To have had a rude ladder made at El-Ally, I foresaw would breed too much dangerous talk of the Nasarany, whose researches were already a busy enigma in the country side. In the Kella at El-Hejr, lay an old shaft of the well machine; I obtained it of the tower warden, we hacked steps and the beam which might be 16 feet long was borne out on two men's shoulders to the monuments and reared against what frontispieces I would, when I had the happiness to find from the height of the timber or climbing upon the pediments and taking hold upon the eagles I might now reach to those high inscription tables of the most of them. In the next days, as I could persuade any to be carriers of my timber, I climbed and with thin bibulous paper, laboured to stamp those strange, too long silent, epitaphs of a former world: and using all diligence, whilst this goodwill was in the Arabs (and not much time remained now till the returning Hajj), I had shortly impressed the most, not without some difficulties; oftentimes standing on the beam head, or the higher parts from the pediments yet hardly within my reach, for the danger of falling, the extreme thirsty dryness of the stone, for the perpetual impatient apprehensions of the Arabs, and for the windy blasts, (in January entering already, the spring crisis of the year) which sometimes confounded in an instant, the busy labour of an hour. The task accomplished, there yet remained some ten or a dozen tablet inscriptions of the frontispieces which were too high for me. I did not think it just to imperil myself further attempting that which without other means were very nearly impossible; nor could I move the covetise of the Arabs, whom I thought much more sure-footed. «What should a little silver profit them (they stolidly answered) when they had broken their necks?» But these epitaphs, which I had now in my hands should well, I trusted, suffice to the unriddling of that strange long nightmare enigma of Medain Şalîh.

Thus far of the Hejr sepulchral monuments which are all, as said, in crags of the plain without mount Ethlib; there remains to speak of the *Dirvan* and of certain sculptured tablets which are in Ethlib. This wasting

sandstone mountain is full of strait cleaved passages. There is in one of them, which is principal, in face of the *Kella*, a hall hewn in the cliff that the Arabs have named *El-Diwan*, or *El-Liwan*; and this only of all the hewn monuments at *El-Hejr*, besides some few and obscure caverns, is plainly not sepulchral. The *Diwan* alone is lofty and large (fig. 34) and hewn with cornice and pilasters, to the line and square, yet so a little obliquely. The *Diwan* is alone of them all an open chamber. There is not any like monument I think in *Wady Mousa*, where the monument corresponding, for the site, is the *Khuzna Pharoan* (and that, I can suppose, not a sepulchre). After the appearance, I thought the Arabs had good reason, that this should be the *mejlis* chamber of the town council or else their temple or might serve both uses. There is a Nabatean legend, not the worst, lightly entailed upon the rock, in the cliff of this same passage opposite, which the learned decipherers have now read to speak of the making of a temple indeed. That inscription has a place above a singular tablet plinth or *stele*, (fig. 35) rudely formed upon the rock in low relief. In the same passage and parts of *Ethlib* are others of the same nature, where the *stele* (see also fig. 36, 37) is seen double or horned (fig. 38, 39), or there are two steles in a tablet together (fig. 40), or three of unequal height (fig. 41, 42, 43). Obscure as they are, we may hardly doubt the significance of these strange memorials is religious. To them we may add the tablets, seen elsewhere in the same mountain, shown in fig. 44, 45, 46: — also in the *sik*, which corresponds to this passage at *Petra*, I have seen some rasms wasted in the rock after my remembrance, of a like nature.

High upon the *Hejr* cliffs so that man's hand might not now attain them, even standing upon camel-back are seen many scored antique images of animals, the most camels and the ostrich (found commonly with the desert inscriptions, pl. XX), and strange semblances of the great horned *bedûn* (pl. LVII, fig. 49). The Beduins, as the unwitting vulgar that will needs render to themselves a reason of all, however fond, say here: «The ancients (that could reach those many fathoms in height) were of great stature.» — Were they traced by the aid of a ladder? for there is no tide in the soil and the plain is not wasted, which well appears by the thresholds, since the age of the artificers of the sepulchral monuments.

Upon a day when some of the garrison would go hunting the *bedûn* (*bédan*, great wild goat of the mountains, which is called *wail* in Syria and

by *Kahtan* in *El-Yemen*; the wild goat of Scripture) I accompanied them upon the mountain-border, east beyond the plain, *Rikb el-Hejr*, to visit some there seen *nakûsh* or scored inscriptions, and I found (which I had first found at El-Hejr, pl. III, fol. 2) perpendicular Himyarish legends of the desert (pl. XX-XXI). In the returning of the Haj (Feb. 1877), I sent the roll of impressed inscriptions from Medain Şalih, by the hand of a friendly Turkish officer to Damascus. As they were passed upwards, I went to lead the nomad life, wandering with this country Beduins, for many months. In the spring I was again a fortnight at Medain Şalih, and revisited the passage El-Mezham (pl. XLVII, fig. 47) (before passed with the Haj in the morning twilight), and doubtless which was of the old Sabean wayside, and found store of ancient inscriptions, Nabatean and Himyaric (pl. XVIII-XIX), many of them fresh looking as they were of these days: amongst them even certain few names in greek characters. Nearly all the scored inscriptions have, I think, surely, been beaten with stones upon the rock which is now the idle use of the Nomad herdsmen, portraying upon every desert cliff their camels and horsemen with the wild bedûn and gazels. More rarely there are some traced with a sharp tool. In the autumn I was a month more at Medain Salih with the Beduins.

In the Beduin wandering grounds from El-Hejr upwards to Teyma and Nejd, I found many also ancient legends scored upon the desert rocks; the most are Himyarish, especially at *Ayn Alia* in the mountain *Ybba* (*Abu*) *Moghrair* (pl. XXIV-XXV) where two images battered upon the cliff are renowned among the Nomads as *Abu Zeyd* and *Alia* his wife (pl. LVII, fig. 51). The perpendicular inscriptions are here numerous. At the watering *Makuttaba* are many other Himyarish scorings (pl. XXII) in the rude sandstone cliffs, but I saw not there of the perpendicular legends. As was foreseen by the excellent Burckhardt (who had made an art of travel in these countries), the desert inscriptions may best be sought for in passages and at watering places, that is in paths of ancient traffic and wherever was most idle resort. In the *Wady Gârib* under the Harra, upon the sandstone cliffs, above a tumulus of stones, which the Nomads name tomb of Abu Zeyd's Mother, I found other of the desert Himyarish legends (pl. XXVI), and, as at Makuttaba and commonly, with ancient images of camels and some tables of scored lines as that shown in the figure (fol. 49). In the same plate is shown a singular Nabatean inscription (fol. 50). very

well traced, and only, of all I have seen, enclosed with border lines, upon a cliff which is I think of the old road side between Hejra and Teyma. The Beduins also spoke to me of *Ḳabbat e' Timathil*, near the derb el-Ḥaj northward; that is the face of a rock scored over with inscriptions, which they use to call in their rude simplicity *timathil-el-Hellalat*, «imagery of the Beny Hellal'» or ancient heroic Arabs of Nejd. And seeing the letter + so common in the Himyarite, they take it for a plain witness, that the *Naṣara* were the old people of this country before Mohammed. I came now to Teyma and found there two or three inscriptions in some antique Semitic character and unlike all which I had seen hitherto in this Arabian journey (pl. XXVII): that with the eyes, I judged to be a tomb-stone which, removed of old times, had been built in the walls of a now ancient kella. An honest man of the town and he not knowing, I think, that I had found that inscription, told me another while of his own accord of a place of ancient gravestones, he had seen not far off, under yonder *Jebel Ghrumneym* with *naksh* upon them, or some scored inscriptions and figures of eyes. But whether he said truth or spoke it of falsehood fantastically as will the Arabians many times I could not ascertain. My Beduin friends believed him not, they had never seen aught such, in that part, and though they were of the country. If he said sooth, there should be a necropolis of antique, perhaps biblical Teyma: much I desired to know the sooth in this thing, but could not visit that pretended site.

Westward of Teyma in the waterless sand deserts of the Sherrarat is found a wild creature of Arabia, often spoken of in the border countries as the wild cow, but not before known to Europeans. In 1875, I had seen the white hides sold by the Sherrarat in Maan for sole-leather; here I saw the long rod-like horns often brought by the hunters. Later at Hayil I saw the beautiful creature, a male and a female, in captivity living in the prince's orchard. It is an antelope. The horns which I brought to Europe in 1878 are found to be as those of the African species *Beatrix*. For the shape, it is like a little fine-limbed white cow; but the Arabian name is *Othyahi* (and this is found in the *Moallaka*). The othyahi is dangerous to be approached, with a cast of her sharp horns, this antelope may strike through a man's body. The hunters therefore use to await the last moments, as they told me, to run in and cut this beast's throat that their prey be not so, to them, an unlawful meat.

A year gone by, I was now of the Beduin life and though openly confessing myself a Nasarany in Arabia Deserta, where it is hard to pass even for the Ishmaelites. Of Nasarany and Jew they have one understanding that they are God and his Apostles enemies, and therefore may be slain lawfully by every faithful man. The stranger in their country is, they say, «the wolf's right and debt to the Thubba» (the cruel wild beast or hyena) and every godless landloper will hunt after his soul and fear not to spill his blood, which can never be required of them again, that they may be partakers of his spoils, of however, as they seem to us, slender worth. Here are not caravan roads or governments, they had not till now heard of our European States. It were hard to say whether much money in possession were more a man's help or his bane in such an enterprise. Alone without support, it had been foolhardy in me to play the European. I saw in my experience it had whetted all their teeth and too likely were it for a man's speedy death, to be the bearer of much silver among them. With my European clothes, I put off in Damascus even the last remembrance of Europe, and having provided what little viaticum I dared of gold, for the rest I trusted to an art which I had lately learned to the purpose in Syria, most acceptable to all the nomad people, I would vaccinate and live in Arabia. The wide country is at every few years end wasted by this strong disease to which their mis-dieted feeble bodies can make no resistance. But in the two-and-a-half months delay at El-Hejr and that heat and extreme drought, even of the winter's sun, the virtue of the lymph was lost and I was left deceived of my hope and more without any reasonable pretext of my dwelling in their midst. With part of my little substance I had bought a very good camel, which soon after by a new accident perished; by another fatality I lost soon the use of my watch, with which I had computed distances. Fortune gave me thus checkmate that now I should appear nakedly as a spy, in the wretched land of these jealous mortals. Moreover (this was the spring of the year 1877) the new *jihad* of Islam was at its height raging as they supposed, against all the nation of Nasara. A bankrupt of Fortune thus, yet I must prefer death to any false barbarous acknowledgment of Mohammed, whose bastard Arabian faction in religion is the most dangerous grown confederacy and secret conspiracy surely, in the whole world. I saw only suffering enough and dangers enough before me. Smooth in comparison were the path of any breaker into these countries before impervious, who could find it in his easy

heart to confess with the Arabs as the excellent Burekhardt, and after him the learned young Swede Wallin, *Mohammed; Rasoul Ullah*, nor can I condemn the subterfuge, since upon such strategems stands the infinite life of all nature, but I would not follow them.

From Teyma I had passed the desert north-eastward to Hayil; there are some scored inscriptions found upon the rocks of that neighbourhood. A few only I saw, copied, in the hands of a fanatical Kady of the town. The strange archaic characters resembled some of those which I had found in the Mezham by Medain Şalih. Some persons told me here, upon the rocks at *Gubba* (the last village in the *Nefūd* towards *Jauf*) they had seen very many scored inscriptions. After a long month passed uneasily at Hayil, when the year 1877 was ending, I set forward (which I had endeavoured continually since many months) for Khaybar. That is a name which among the first must interest us, in the history of Mohammed's Arabian religious faction, which grew presently to a world's religion. I might also find inscriptions of the ancient Mosaic establishment in these countries.

Before the midway, abandoned by my Beduin company, who could not indeed bring me further towards Khaybar, where as it now appeared they might be seized upon as enemies, I procured, with better fortune in an evil hap, a new Nomad *rafik* who conducted me faithfully three more long journeys: all which rest of the way, 90 miles, lay over another vast Harra or lava-overflowed country with spent volcanoes and equal to that formerly discovered of the Aueyrid. The great Arabian Harras resemble the *Hauran* of Syria. This is the Harra Khaybar which stretches southward to within a few hours of Medina. I found at the highest where we passed an altitude of nearly 6000 feet, and thus equal to the highest platform of the Aueyrid, and which I have afterwards known (passing here again and sometime resident in the country), is a great watershed in the midst of northern Arabia; also head of those two great dry valleys, which give one eastward and one westward to their out-goings upon the Arabian and Persian Gulfs; and namely the great *Wady e' Rammah* (الرمّة) whose name but not the course, was known before to readers of the old Mohammedan itineraries. The seyl heads (*sheyban*) I have found to be in this lava country about the palm villages (negro settlements) of *El-Hayat* and *Howeyat* and the outgoing far in the north at *Sheyer* near Bosra. It may be considered thus an affluent of Euphrates. The other is the nearly like great *Wady el-Hamth* (الحمص),

named for the abounding in its dry bed of that fodder-plant and was, before I went down to Arabia, unknown in Europe. Wady el-Humth receives all the seyl waters of the Hejaz; its heads are above the *Wady Laymûn* in the steppes of e' Tàyif, it passes Medina from Henakîch and thence upwards, receiving the seyl waters of the Khaybar Harra, nearly to the Harrat el-Aueyrid, whose seyls also it receives from both sides, and turning westward through the Tehamma, goes out upon the seabord between Wejh and Yanba. In this long passage of the deserts from Hayil my eyes did not light upon any inscription; nor are such likely to find among the basaltic rocks of the Harras, of a metallic durity, and I had not seen any inscriptions in wandering sometime with the Nomads upon the lavas of the Aueyrid. — *Lava*, a word now of every European speech, but not to find in our ancient tongues, may seem with many more of our common use, to have been taken up at second hand from the Arabs, and likely of the Moorish conquest of Sicily, the gift in so large part of Etna. *Laba* the Arabian form in the plural *loab*, is in the mouths of all the Arabs in these countries. As formerly upon the Aueyrid, I saw also upon this Harra, certain cells and vaults, dry-built of the wild basalt stones, which I take to be certainly tombs of antiquity, and to these think we may add now the *nawamûs* which have been long an enigma to passengers in Sinai. Also *namous* is corruptly spoken in Damascus for *nagûs*, which is a common tomb or place of family burial, in the graveyards of the Nasara and other sects not of Islam; and *nagus* may be taken for *vexus* of that which was the nursing tongue of the Christian Religion.

Khaybar is now a small village (plate XLVII, n° 48) under the *Huşn* or old fortified basalt rock of the place. There are besides two outlying hamlets of Khaybar *Umm Kida* and *El-Asmîeh*. At little distance in the same valleys are ruined sites of three small ancient suburbs or villages. Very small and without any curiosity are those antique house chambers of rude stone laying without mortar. These *wadian* of the Harra are seen from the basalt brow (*figgera*) of the Harra as the fingers of the hand and green with a forest of nearly unhusbanded palm trees. Those sultry bottoms full of mire and water, in the dry Arabian country, breed much fever and of deadly kind (thus also noted by the old Mohammedan writers) that the sick may hardly escape with his life, and if he recover yet for the great throbbing spleen which remains, he will be commonly in all his life after a broken man,

this is spoken of strangers; with the grown villagers, the fever shakes them a few days and is spent, but they lose some great part of their young children. These villagers as those of Hayat and Howeyat are *abid*, of African blood, since white men may hardly dwell here from year to year. The negro villagers are not in their own right possessors of the soil but husbandmen, at half fruits, for the Beduins, which are their landlords and who account the descendancy of their fathers' slaves. The Beduins are certain tribes of Annesy remaining in the south, *Bisshr* and *Beni Wahab*. The nomads descend from their desert pastures towards the time of the date harvest, and divide the ingathering with their husbanding villagers by households, after both their rights and holdings. They have a tradition that one *Okila* slave of Marhab, sheykh of the place conquered by Mohammed, gathered again the scattered people and became their head. After that time came by Annesy, friendly Beduw, whose ancient seats were between Medina and Khaybar, and would encamp certain days at these waters. But a sheykh's daughter entering the village, to visit the maidens of the place, was seen there and contrary to all the honourable rites, enforced by the insolent son of Okila. There is an honour in the tribe as of kinsmen in the desert, which is the sanctuary of virgins among them, and in the nomads' eyes the guilt was grievous; but all satisfaction was denied them from the town: and more, Okila and his horsemen rode proudly on the morrow forth against the wild Beduins, who from their part set furiously upon the villagers, and Okila fallen, they had the mastery of them and, breaking into Khaybar, overran the place: yet spared the remnant of the people upon conditions, that holding the land now in fee of the tribesmen, they sould husband the palms as their servant partners and after the custom of tenure in these countries, to receive the half fruits. Also the nomads bound themselves to give no more their daughters to the Khayâbara, who taking therefore concubines of the servile blood, became in their posterity as we see them at this day, *Sudân*. The Beduin landlord tribes look in every year to eat eight months their own dates of these villages.

Khaybar was lately of the estates of Ibn Rashid, prince of Shummar, but now occupied by the *Dowla*, which is here the government of Medina. After so long famine and jeopardy in Arabia I had looked rather to find some repose in a place held by the Ottoman arms, but it happened far otherwise. Here was but a score of irregular soldiery and I was attached

by their officer, being a Nasarany and a spy, as he imagined, of the *Muskôv*, spoiled of all things by the guilty unpaid wretch and detained two-and-a-half months (more than all this second Arabian winter, the chill season is there about five weeks, with hot mid-day sunshine), and daily threatened with death among them, also it was a low time, almost of famine at Khaybar. In this distress I had there perished or must have desperately broken from them at adventure to the pathless Harra, but a worthy person of Medina, the only white man who had settled at Khaybar, with a nobility of mind, most seldom seen amongst them, succoured me and constantly defended my lonely life those long months over, until the rescript came from the Pasha of Medina for my release and the restitution of my goods. Not seldom I had wandered with that good man, who bound himself surety for me in the Khaybar valleys and upon the Harra seeking ancient inscriptions but we found none, and though he was a hunter and there nothing missed his wonderful eyesight, besides those two or three (pl. XXVIII, et XLVIII, fig. 52) in singular characters of the desert upon the next figgera with ancient images of the antelope and other animals, yet some I saw kufic, upon sandstone underlying rocks lower in the valley and left them for weariness.

Khaybar in the knavish irony of these negro villagers is an island. There lies but one way from hence which is to Medina. I must perforce return over the roide deserts northward : delivered from Khaybar, I went again towards Hayil, whither when I came the Emir was absent upon an expedition and his deputy, a Galla libertine of the Prince's household would not, a second time (which is the morose condition of the Mohammedan inhumanity), receive the Nasarany, alleging that many fanatical persons were here ready to kill me and that, the Emir away, he could not contain them. Thus rejected anew into the vast deserts I wandered southward, till at few journeys end, my Beduins forsook me at tents of *Heteym*. But these poor people received me, not without humanity, I hired from them camel carriage and crossed eastward to the next Beduin tribesmen of Harb encamped near Soleyma. From those Harb I set forward with a rafik to pass the deserts to El-*Kaşîm* and arriving as a sunset at Boreyda, I entered the town and alighted at the Prince's hostel or place of public entertainment; where the same evening, the Nasarany being known at the crying to the last prayers and left alone in the court yard, I was robbed and stripped even of my clothing by the vile hostel servants : the things, as he heard it, were presently restored

to me by command of the deputy Emir. The day after was an hubbub and questing in the town to the deputy Emir (brother of the Emir, also absent upon the spring warfaring expedition, v. II Sam. II, 1) that he should deliver me to the people to be put to death. «A Nasarany (they clamoured) had dared to enter their town, and that he ought not be let go forth alive, and was not in this time the Sultan of Islam making sheep-slaughter of all the accursed nation of Nasara?» This uproar lasted among them for my life till past nightfall. The fanatic peasant deputy Emir had of his own nature given me very willingly into their hands, if he had not feared as a ruler : «Ye might (he answered them) have done it in the desert, you hear my word; I say also and if you had killed him it had been well enough, but there shall be no uproar in the town.» The morrow come he sent me forth from the place with a cameleer who should carry me to Aneysa. These now great towns of middle Nejd, have been founded, as I could learn of their sheykhs¹, since only five centuries. The population of Boreyda with her suburbs, I esteem nearly 6,000 and of Aneysa 7000. And though seeming far apart on the maps, they are separated by hardly 11 miles of nefûd sand, in whose midst is the bed of the great Wady e' Rommah. Like to this is all Kasim, a plain of deep sand (نفد) with many oases of palm villages, since the ground water of the great wady is near. The cameleer by the secret order of the Boreyda deputy Emir, forsook me a mile without the township of Aneysa, which nevertheless I entered with better than the appearing fortune. It was now May 1878.

The Emir of Aneysa, the first free town in Arabia, was a worthy man of an excellent spirit, such as they use to call, of the old taken up bookish Byzantine word, *filṣūf*, without any illiberal fanaticism of his ancient blood in religion. I saw here a new civil manner of the Arabian life, to be preferred to that which smells of tyranny at Hayil. Here are many considerable merchants traders of late years, partly established in the far off coast and river towns, Jidda, Bosra, Badgad; men of liberal understanding. These, with those of Boreyda and e' Russ, townsmen of the Nefûd, dwelling in the midst of the peninsula, are besides the labourers of the soil, cameleers and traffickers as far as the two coasts, a sort of Lombards of Arabia. Yet of these townsmen the large part, chieflly of the home dwelling remain, of the harsh

¹ Article Oneiza. *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

wahabby fanaticism with the sheykhs of the religion (*Muttowwa*), who in their friday mid-day preachings, blamed the slackness of the Emir himself, and the less than godly zealous mind of the wealthy merchants, which had at first received into the town, and since favoured the Nasarany, and the Nasara were upon a false way of idolatry not pleasing to Ullah. Those of the crude fanaticism were shortly strong enough to expel the stranger, even contrary to the good will of the Emir, and of the better sort. The Emir sent me by night a journey southward to *Khubbera*, a nefûd town whose tilled lands are in the Wady before e' Russ. Then I was like to be cast away miserably there not remaining in my hand in so hostile a country, so much as might buy the covetous service of any needy soul, or caravan carriage to the coast. I was thus three bitter days until (more than my hope) those good merchant friends at Aneysa sent for me again : they had prevailed with the Emir to recall me, but for the opposition of the people I might no more enter their town. The Emir and my friends had appointed me to dwell in a palm ground, a mile or two outlying beyond the walls, till the time of the caravans setting out, when I might depart in some of them. The country, being at present infested by intruded Beduins of Kahtan from El-Yemen, there was yet no caravan passage and I awaited other two months thus. I had found now some human relief of the foreign traders, which return commonly to pass every second or their third season at home, in Nejd. I may speak of one of remarkable mind, who had passed some time in India, in whose brotherly converse it has sometimes seemed to me as the man were an European and that I was become of the Arabs. He thought it, of his Arabian nature, a wonderful folly that any holding his way in so perilous country should publish himself *Engleysy* and *Nasarany*, and since I could not take any provident care for my own life, he would have a care for me. He saw my clothes rent of late by the town robbers of Boreyda and a first word of his brotherly kindness, and surely miraculous in any Arabian, was in proffering me to the present need, two or three hundred reales, told in my hand. This I refused, consenting only that he should advance upon my bill, payable at the coast, some 20 reales. He looked upon Europe, mistress of the world, as the arsenal of knowledge, and therefore with merchant's eyes adored (an alien more than need) as the source of all power, this new sun of our sciences; and whereas the Mohammedan learning is all of « the weak and beggardly element » a breeding in and in

of their unfounded letters. We did not stick to divide even our thoughts of religion, which confessed had been in this country calamitous to both our souls. — I break no confidence, since he is gone to eternal rest: all who have preached religions had been moved, he said, by some covetise of this world's life, *tomma e' dinnea*, he noted حيلة, fraud of hypocrisy, in some sect of his religion. «Providentia incomperta, religiones somnia», daughters of the human imbecility in Nature, grand-daughters of the Kosmic irrational forces, «religio nobis, mera humanitas est».

My friends bid me choose whether I would they should send me to Koweyt, Bosra, eastward to *e' Riath*, or south by the Mecca road to Jidda. The last I elected. namely to ride in the yearly midsummer caravan carrying Nejd clarified butter of the Nomads to Mecca. In the long hundreds of miles since Khaybar, I had not seen inscriptions upon any cliffs of the desert. The country is always of Plutonic rocks to Kasîm. All my inscriptions had been found in the western sandstone country. Kasîm is sand and sand-rock, but I saw and heard of none there; I say not that there are none; my mind also was diverted by the difficulties of the way. Upon the Mecca journey I should pass over vast unknown steppes and see other great volcanic countries equal to those which I had formerly discovered in the West. But I foresaw a final peril better than my friends, since at the station next before Mecca, I must separate myself from the caravan about to enter the sacred precincts, and ride 20 leagues beyond to Jidda as I could, and in setting out must therefore build all upon the brittle hap of finding some person in that country willing to conduct me. The danger of Kahtan (the noblest blood and most malignant of the Arabian tribes), dispersed by an expedition of the Emir and townsmen of Aneysa and allied Beduins, we set forward peaceably. The sandstone Nefûd country is ended at e' Russ, from thence all is granite and basalts four hundred miles before us to Mecca and Jidda. This great land-breadth is an upland plain full of mountains and bergs and crags still ascending southward after e' Russ for 50 miles, and lies from thenceforth of nearly even height, 4,000 to 4,500 feet, to the brow of Nejd, beside e' Tayif, which we passed in nearly two weeks' strenuous marches of these Nejd cameleers. In all that vastity of soil there is not an oasis and which rather, I suppose, for the lack of good water: the water holes and wells are nearly always brackish, a cause of fever in these countries. The desert land is good and I saw in that long passage, much better wild pastures than elsewhere in

Arabia. The desolate sands seemed to be overgrown, in the midsummer of the year, with wild bay. We approached and also passed the summer tropic; the soil is no further rainless Arabia. The Nomads look for yearly seasonable rains in these highlands, which further south set in about Tayif commonly in the last summer weeks and fall in 30 or 40 days. These steppes may seem manifestly to lie under the skirts of the monsoon, and the old geographical division of the great Semitic peninsula, after the robust wisdom of the ancients, into Arabia Felix and Arabia Deserta, may seem well and rightly established, namely upon the inconstant privation of the seasonable rains, which is under the northern climate, and their constant return in the south. In the last marches we passed by the great volcanic country that (a geologist) I had hitherto desired to see, of lavas and spent volcanoes; which is of many members, under several names, but may be called in general from the Nejd side *Harrat el-Kesshub* (كشيب), and that the Arabs consider nearly as a band, stretching in the north almost to Medina. The most southern part (and there very high above the Tehamma) I saw later so far down as *Wady Fatima*.

In these desert marches I had not seen an inscription, and we descended now from the brow of Nejd to *e' Seyl*; this is the old station *Ḳurn el-Menazil*, where all persons about to enter Mecca put off the secular clothing, and having washed their bodies, are girded with the loin cloth of pilgrims, *el-ihram* and not unlikely of the ancient apparel of the Arabians, which has been retained in the religion of the Kaaba. After this, looking to the heaven with devout cries of *lubbeyk*, they begin to descend by the Seyl valley and come in few hours to the first inhabited place, a hamlet of the Hatheyl Beduins *Ayn e' Zayma* which is a short stage of the Tayif cameleers from Mecca. By the faulty half malicious negligence of my caravan companions, notice of the approach of a Nasarany in the *Kâfila* of the *Kaşmân* had been carried hither before us, by Tayif cameleers marching in the night from Ḳurn el-Menazil; and here arriving very early in the day (where also I should part from the Aneysians and must seek further passage), a man set upon me, as I dismounted, with a knife; he was a nomad sherif and had heard this tale returning homeward from Mecca. With wild cries he bid me rehearse the *shahâd* or die upon his knife. As I was silent there came another, an aged negro, who detained his arms and entreated him. The caravan of Aneysians, servants and small traders had all passed by and there were not

any sheykhy persons amongst them. The last maliciously seeing the Nasarany mishapped forsook me, and Arabians are found in such cases next to dastards. There was a throng about us of Tayif cameleers here resting, which were come hither, with their laden beasts in the night from Mecca; black skinned men, for we are already in Tehamma. — Also the sacred city they all account of the Tehamma.

I was always well assured with secret arms and might so break at an extreme need through many Arabs. After nearly two years suffering, as the besieged, I was now in extreme weakness and weariness of body, in conscience I abhorred, since mine was the provocation of these men's savage ignorance, to shed their innocent blood. Whilst I stood on silent with my hand to the pistol hidden under my tunic, there was this contention between that honourable negro and the ragged nomad sherif, whom he reprehended as a madman. The negro was umbrella-bearer of the Great Sherif, Emir of Mecca and he also came hither perchance, to-day ascending to his master's service at Tayif. The mad-body sherif wretch returned upon me so many times, with his knife, the negro as often restraining and entreating him, that it seemed an hour. All the Mecca cameleers, it might be 30 men stood in a rank with hands at their short swords and with the stern eyes of thier morose black visages glared upon the lonely Nasarany. The honest negro bade the other remember Jidda, bombarded for the murder of one or two of the mighty nation of Europeans, also their master (the Great Sherif) would not surely spare one who brought in any new trouble upon his Estates, by a requisition for stranger's blood; besides my nation were, he said, of the Sultan's friends, also he must well know, that many of the Nasara securely inhabited Jidda. Finally it was agreed between them that nothing ought to be done by private violence, but let all be in course of law; there was no cause, but if he would needs accuse me it must be before the great Sherif of Mecca, then in summer residence at e'Tayif; also he should carry me safely at his peril thither.

This last accident increased my already extreme fatigues, but with this I should now see Tayif. At sunset they set forth and we marched slowly upwards by the Seyl valley all that night; before the sunrising we were again at Kurn el-Menazil, where as we rested, coveting only to spoil me, rather than in any godly care for my religion, the scelerate nomad sherif plucked out his knife anew to take away the life of the Nasarany and sava-

gely the cameleers shouted to cut the Kafir in morsels and some beat me. I yielded them the things and (extreme mishap), my arms were now first discovered and lost to me in Arabia. We marched again at afternoon and slowly all the next night, *mithil e'niml*, at the ants' pace as the Mecca cameleers use, whose beasts are very small and feeble, and arrived before Tayif at the daybreaking. The hardness of my Arabian travel was then ended, for as ever the Great Sherif heard of this case, he sent me immediately, as he was a good man of perfectly liberal gentle mind, to be kindly entertained in the house of his aide-de-camp, and whilst I remained at e' Tayif he took pleasure to talk with me at his audiences and hear the tale of my travels in the (to them also as good as unknown) nomad Arabia, and he would have sent me forward whithersoever I had desired in his Estates, and with his safe conduct and furtherance, to visit the valleys of El-Yemen: and this I could have wished, but sickness of the Arabian climate lay now heavy upon me and my life was worn to the grave; also the past might well suffice me. The Great Sherif would that I should see all that pilgrim strangers visit at e' Tayif, his men showed me amongst other the idol stones *el-Uzzah* (long some 20 feet), *el-Hubbal* (long 5 or 6 feet), *el-Lâta* (long nearly 25 feet): which are great rude blocks of the grey granite of that country, without the marks of any tool, and remaining such as they have tumbled from the next mountains in the beginning of the world. When he saw me sufficiently refreshed, the good Sherif gave me an escort for Jidda; bidding his servants lead me to the best houses, where so we came in the Wady Fatima, and to show me a certain inscription of which he had a fantasy, in a riq little before Kurn el-Menazil (pl. XXVIII).

TRANSCRIPTION ET TRADUCTION
DES INSCRIPTIONS NABATÉENNES
DE MEDAÏN-SALIH.

Les inscriptions ont été classées, non par ordre chronologique, mais selon l'ordre le plus commode pour l'étude. On a mis d'abord les inscriptions les mieux écrites et les mieux conservées. L'ordre chronologique a été rétabli dans le tableau p. 53. On suppose le lecteur au courant des résultats obtenus par M. de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale, Inscriptions sémitiques*, Paris, 1868-1877, et des travaux publiés dans le *Journal asiatique*, avril et octobre 1873, février-mars 1874.

N° 1.

De l'an 41 de J.-C.

דנה מסגדא די עבד
שרוהו בר תוכא לאערא
די בבצרא אלה רבא לירח
ניסן שנת הרה למלכו מלכא

Ceci est le *mesgeda*¹ qu'a fait élever Serouh, fils de Touca, à Aera² de Bosra³, grand dieu. Dans le mois de nisan de l'an 1 du roi Malchus.

¹ Comp. Vogüé, *Syrie centrale. Inser. sémit.*, p. 119. La représentation, p. 119 et pl. XIV, prouve bien que מסגדא désigne un cippé sacré. — ² Ou *Aeda*. — ³ Comp. Salhad. Vogüé, p. 107.

N° 2.

De l'an 2 de J.-C.

- 1 דנה כפרא ¹ די עבדו כמכס בר תואלת בר תחרם
- 2 וכליבת ברתה לנפשם ואחרם בירה טבת שנת
- 3 תשע להרתת מלך נבטו רחם עמה וילען דושרא
- 4 ומרתנה ואלת מן עמנד ומנותו וקישת מן יובן
- 5 כפרא דנה או מן יובן או ירהן ² או ינתן יתה או ינפק
- 6 מנה גת ³ או שלף או מן יקנר בה עיר ⁴ כמכס וברתה
- 7 ואחרם ומן די לא יעבדה יעלא כתיב ⁵ ואיתי עמה ⁶
- 8 לדושרא והכלו ולמותו שמרין יעלא וכל אקנס ⁷
- 9 בסלעין ⁸ אלף תרתי ⁹ בלעד מן די ינפק בירה כהב מן יר
- 10 כמכס או כליבת ברתה ככפרא הנאך ¹⁰ ימרתא הו

והבאלהי בר עבדעבדת

¹¹ עבד

C'est ici le caveau que firent faire Cameam, fils de Touallat, fils de Taharam, et Coleibat, sa fille, pour eux, pour leurs enfants et leurs descendants, au mois de tebeth de l'année neuvième de Hartat, roi des Nabatéens, aimant son peuple. Que Dusarès et Martaba et Allat, et Menât et Keïs maudissent celui qui vendrait ce caveau, ou l'achèterait, ou le mettrait en gage, ou le donnerait, ou en tirerait les corps, ou celui qui y enterrerait d'autres que Camcam et sa fille et leurs descendants. Et celui qui ne se conformerait pas à ce qui est ici écrit, qu'il en soit justiciable devant Dusarès et Hobal et Menât, gardiens de ce lieu, et qu'il paye une amende de mille *selain*., à l'exception de celui qui produirait un écrit de Cameam ou de Coleibat, sa fille, ainsi conçu : « Qu'un tel soit admis dans ce caveau ».

Wahbélahi, fils de Abdobodat, a fait ¹².

¹ Cf. Freytag, t. IV, p. 46-47. — ² Arabe رهن. — ³ Peut être جنة « cadavre ». — ⁴ Arabe غدير. — ⁵ Cf. n° 3, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11. — ⁶ Cf. n° 3, 6, 7, 9, 10. — ⁷ C'est le mot talmudique קנס = *census*. Voir n° 7. — ⁸ Syriaque ܫܠܬܐ; existe aussi en himyarite. — ⁹ Cf. n° 3, 6, 7, 9, 10. — ¹⁰ Peut-être هناك. — ¹¹ Comparez l'ἐπιτομή des Grecs. — ¹² Cf. n° 2 et n° 7.

N° 3.

De l'an 40 de J.-C.

- 1 דנה כפרא די עבר מטיו אסרהנא
- 2 בר אופרניו הפרכא¹ לנפשה וילדה וואלו
- 3 אנתהה וכניהם בירח ניסן שנת ארבעין
- 4 ותמונה להרתת מלך נבטו רהם
- 5 עמה ולא נהש² הותו די יזכן או ירהן או יאנר
- 6 כפרא דנה [והבאלהי] בר עברענדת עבר
- 7 לעלם

Ceci est le caveau qu'a fait faire Mati, le stratège, fils d'Euphronius, l'éparque, pour lui-même et pour ses enfants, et pour Vaal, sa femme, et pour ses fils, dans le mois de nisan de l'année quarante-huitième³ de Hartat, roi des Nabatéens, aimant son peuple. Que personne n'ose ni vendre, ni mettre en gage, ni louer ce caveau-ci.

Wahbélahi, fils de Abdobodat, a fait⁴. A perpétuité.

¹ Pour ces titres, voir Vogüé, p. 103 et 114. — ² Il y a ici sans doute אנוש. Cf. n° 10. ligne 9. — ³ Cette date allonge encore le règne, déjà reconnu si long, de Hartat Philodème; cf. n° 14. — ⁴ Cf. n° 2. A trente-huit ans d'intervalle, cela surprend.

N° 4.

Date illisible, vers 25 après J.-C.

- 1 דנה כפרא די עבר שלי בר רצוא
- 2 לנפשה וילדה ואחרה אצדק באצדק¹
- 3 ודי לא יתקבר בכפרא דנה לחן² אצדק
- 4 באצדק ודי לא יתזבן ולא יתרהן כפרא

- 5 דנה ומן די יעבדה עיר דיעלא ואיתי
6 עמה לדושרא אלה מראנא [סלעין] אלף
7 תרתי³ בירה ניסן שנת
8 לחרתת מלך נבטו רחס עמה אפתה
9 פסלא עבד

Ce caveau a été fait construire par Seli, fils de Riswa, pour lui et pour ses fils et pour ses descendants en ligne légitime. Que ce caveau ne soit point vendu, qu'il ne soit point mis en gage, et quiconque fera autrement que ce qui est marqué ici, il sera redevable au dieu Dusarès, notre Seigneur, de mille *selaïn*. . . Dans le mois de nisan de l'année. . . . de Hartat, roi des Nabatéens, aimant son peuple. Aftah le tailleur de pierre a fait.

¹ Formule très fréquente. — ² Comp. Daniel, II, 11; III, 28; VI, 8. — ³ Comp. n° 2.

N° 5.

Date illisible, au moins pour le premier chiffre, peut-être de l'an 16 après J.-C.

- 1 דנה כפרא די עבר הימאלהי¹ בר
2 המלת לנפשה ויהב כפרא דנה לאמה
3 אנתתה ברת גלחמו מן זמן שטר
4 מוהבתא די בידה די העבד בה כל די הצבא
5 בשנת² לחרתת מלך נבטו
6 רחס עמה

Ce caveau a été fait construire par Teimélahi, fils de Hamlat, pour lui-même, et il a donné ce caveau à Ammah, sa femme, fille de Golhom³. En vertu de l'acte de donation qui est dans sa main, elle peut en faire ce qu'elle voudra. En l'année 3 de Hartat, roi des Nabatéens, aimant son peuple.

¹ Voir les inscriptions sinaïtiques. — ² Chiffres; les trois signes d'unité sont seuls visibles. — ³ C'est, je pense, l'ancien nom de جرحم.

N° 6.

Date en partie illisible; de l'an 3, 13, 23 ou 33 de J.-C.

1 דנה כפרא דינברה
2 כ [ולאה] רחם ולכן יאתא
3 פן גרבת ולידרדנה
4 פ חתהדרו שי אנוש כלה¹
5 [כ] ל די ירהן יתה ולא
6 יעיר גרבתה ומן די יעבר בעיר דיעלא
7 כתיב² ואיתי עלוהי כפל דמי אהרא דה
8 כלה ולענה דושרא ומנותו בירה ניסן
9 שנה יזן לחרתה מלך נבטו רחם עמה
10 וכל מן די יתאלף³ כפרא דנה או יעיר מן דיעלא
11 ואיתי עמה לדושרא כלעין אלף תרת⁴ [י] אפתה
12

Ceci est le caveau que. et à leurs descendants et à quiconque viendra⁵. tout homme qui. et quiconque le mettra en gage. Et quiconque fera autrement que ce qui est écrit, aura sur lui⁶ le double de la valeur de tout ce lieu-ci⁷, et la malédiction de Dusarès et de Menât. Dans le mois de nisan de l'an. de Hartat, roi des Nabatéens, aimant son peuple. Et quiconque. dans ce caveau ou changera quelque chose à ce qui est écrit, il aura à payer à Dusarès mille *selain*.

Aftah [le tailleur de pierre a fait⁸].

¹ Cf. n° 2. — ² Cf. n° 2. — ³ Cf. n° 10, ligne 10. — ⁴ Cf. n° 2. — ⁵ Sans doute « apportant un écrit pour être enterré dans le caveau ». — ⁶ C'est-à-dire « sera tenu de payer ». — ⁷ אהרא, *locus*, sens de τόπος, *loculus*, pour « tombeau ». — ⁸ Voir n° 4.

N° 7.

De l'an 3 avant J.-C.

- 1 דנה כפרא די עבד חלדו בר קסנתן לנפשה ולשעידו ברה
- 2 ואחוהי מה די יתילד לחלדו בנה מן דכרין ולבניהם ואהרהם
- 3 אצדק באצדק עד עלם ודי יתקברו בכפרא דנה ילדיה לשעידו
- 4 מנועתר אהו אט יתר שלימת בנת חלדו דנה ולשעידו
- 5 אנוש בלה מן שעידו ואחוהי דכרין ובניהם ואהרהם די יובן כפרא דה
- 6 או יכתב מוהבה או בידה לאנוש מה בלעדה דיכתב בידה ראצדקא
- 7 או לקדנה או לגשיב או להח וכתב למקבר בלחה מן יעבד בעיר דנה וא¹
- 8 עמה קנס לרושרא אלה מר[אנא כס]ף סלעין הכשט אס תרתי
- 9 למראנא דרתה סהתו דה יה² ודי קישא בירה ניטן שנת ארב[ע]
- 10 לחרחת מלך נבטו רחם עמה דומא ועבדעבדת פסליא

C'est ici le caveau que fit Khaled², fils de Xanten, pour lui et pour Saïd, son fils, et pour les frères quels qu'ils soient de ce dernier, enfants mâles qui naîtraient à Khaled, et pour leurs fils et leurs descendants, par descendance légitime, à perpétuité. Et que soient enterrés dans ce caveau les enfants de Saïd. Soleimat, fille de Khaled. tout homme, hors Saïd et ses frères mâles, et leurs enfants et leurs descendants, qui vendra ce caveau et en écrira une donation ou. à n'importe qui, excepté celui qui aurait un écrit en forme dans sa main,
Celui qui ferait autrement que ceci devra au dieu Dusarès, notre Seigneur, une amende de cinquante *selain* d'argent. notre Seigneur. Keïs. Dans le mois de nisan de la quatrième année de Hartat, roi des Nabatéens, aimant son peuple. Douma et Abdobodat, sculpteurs.

¹ Peut-être איהי. Pour la suite, voir n° 1. — ² Peut-être חלפו.

N° 8.

Date illisible; vers l'époque même de notre ère.

- 1 רנה כפרא די עבדו ענמו בר נזיאה וארסכסה
- 2 בר תתימו אסרתגא עלרומא וכלבא
- 3 אהיה ולענמו תלת כפרא וצריהא¹ דנה
- 4 ולארכסכה תלת שתרין מן כפרא וצריהא[א]
- 5 והלקה מן גוחיא² מדנהא ונוחיא[די בה]
- 6 ולענמו חלקה מן נוחיא מדהימינא
- 7 ונוחיא די בה להם ולילדחם אצדק באצדק
- 8 בי[ר]ה טבת שנת ~~לחרתת מלך נבטו~~
- 9 רחם עמה אפתח בר³ פסלא עבד

Ceci est le caveau que firent Anam⁴, fils de Gozeiat, et Arsacès, fils de Tateim le stratège. et Calba, son frère⁵. A Anamou appartiendra le tiers de ce caveau et sépulcre, et à Arsacès les deux autres tiers de ce caveau et sépulcre, et la moitié des niches du côté est et les *loculi* [qui y sont]. A Anemou appartiendra la moitié des niches du côté sud, et les *loculi* qui y sont. (Ces *loculi* appartiendront) à eux et à leurs enfants en ligne légitime. Dans le mois de tebeth de l'année. de Hartat, roi des Nabatéens, aimant son peuple. Aftah, le tailleur de pierre, a fait.

¹ Ar. *قبر* « tombeau ». — ² Ar. *جرحه* « fosse ». — ³ La comparaison avec le n° 4 ne permet guère de considérer בר autrement que comme une faute. — ⁴ Cf. *Άναμος*. nom du Hauran. — ⁵ Cf. *Χαλζας*. *Jour. asiat.*, janv. 1880.

N° 9.

A l'intérieur d'un caveau; de l'an 16 de J.-C.

- 1 רנה גוחא די עבד הושוה בר תא
- 2 לנפשה בנו פגרא די לה¹ ולכנתה

- 3 ומן כתבט פתח יתה או ינפק יתה
- 4 מן נוחא יתעלא אף איתי עמה² למראנא
- 5 חרתה מלך נבטו רהם עמה סלעין אלף הרהי
- 6 לך רושרא אלה מריאא דאלהיא כלחם
- 7 מן די ינקפקתו אבה נוחא כתיב לה
- 8 שהרבדנס לענת רושרא ואלהיא כלחם
- 9 א ביר¹ אי בשנה² לחרתה
- 10 מלך נבטו רהם עמה

Ce *loculus* a été fait par Tousouh, fils de, pour lui, de son vivant, et pour ses filles. Et quiconque le ou le tirera hors de la fosse, qu'il paye à notre Seigneur Hartat, roi des Nabatéens, ami de son peuple, mille *selain* ; et au dieu Dūsarès, seigneur de tous les dieux. Celui qui la fosse la malédiction de Dūsarès et de tous les dieux. . . . Dans le mois de de l'année 23 de Hartat, roi des Nabatéens, ami de son peuple.

¹ *Existens in suo corpore.* — ² Voir n° 2.

N° 10.

De l'an 77 après J.-C.

- 1 דנה כפרא די להינת¹ ברת עבדעברת לנפשה
- 2 וילדה ואחרה ולמן די ינפק בידה כן יד הינת
- 3 דא כתבא התקברא² יתקבר בכפרא הונא
- 4 כפרא דנה הוה לעבדעברת אבר הוה למכתב
- 5 למו¹ כת בר קנה להינתו או עבדעברת בר
- 6 מליכת אם שם בנה אם עבדעברת אם הינתו אם
- 7 כלחם די עבדיט כפרא דנה אנדתיבאן איכתבא
- 8 דא יתקבר בכפרא דה אצרקת עבדעברת
- 9 ולא יהוא אנוש דשו³ די יזבן כפרא דנה או [ירחק]

- 10 יתה או יתאלף⁴ בכפרא דנה לכתב כלה ומן יעבר
 11 בעיר די ילעא די איתי⁵ ינדהה חטיאה⁶
 12 לרושרא ומנותו כסף סלעין אלף הר תרתי⁷
 13 ולכראנא דבאל מלך נבטו בירה איר שנה
 14 תרהין לדבאל מלך נבטו

Ceci est le caveau de Hoinat, fille d'Abdobodat⁸, pour elle, pour son fils et ses descendants, et pour ceux qui produiront en leur main, de la main de Hoinat, un écrit en cette forme : « Qu'un tel soit enterré en tel caveau ».

Ce caveau a appartenu à Abdobodat,

 à Hoinat ou Abdobodat, fils de Malikat,
 soit Abdobodat, soit Hoinat, soit tous ceux qui, ce
 caveau, l'écrit que voici : « Qu'il soit enterré dans ce caveau,
 à côté d'Abdobodat ». Que personne n'ose vendre ce caveau, ni le mettre en
 gage, ni, dans ce caveau. Et quiconque fera autrement,
 qu'il doive à Dusarès et à Menât mille *selaïn* d'argent, et autant à notre Seigneur
 Dabel, roi des Nabatéens. Dans le mois d'iyyar de l'année deuxième de Dabel,
 roi des Nabatéens.

¹ Voir n° 11. — ² Infinitif absolu ou plutôt emploi adverbial à la façon arabe *l.* —

³ Voir n° 11, où il y a רשו אנוש, et peut-être n° 6, ligne 4. « רשו » paraît égal à רשי, ce qui rappelle la phrase usitée אין אדם רשי, il n'est pas permis à l'homme (Derenbourg). — ⁴ Comp. n° 6, ligne 10. — ⁵ Cf. n° 2. — ⁶ حطية a quelquefois, en arabe, le sens d'amende. — ⁷ Cf. n° 2. — ⁸ Il n'est pas probable que ce soit l'architecte-sculpteur des n° 2, 3 et 7.

N° 11.

De l'an 61 de J.-C.

- 1 דנה כפרא די עכרת הינה ברת והבו לנפש [ה]
 2 ולילדה ואחרה עד עלם ולא רשו¹ אנוש דיו [בן]
 3 או ימשכן² או יכתב אפנרו בכפרא דנה ומ [ו]
 4 די יעבר בעיר³ דנה די יתוכ⁴ חלקה לאצרק [א]⁵
 5 בשנה עשרין וחרה לכלכו מלכא מלך נבט [ו]

Ceci est le caveau qu'a fait construire Hoinat, fille de Walib, pour elle-même, et pour ses enfants et ses descendants, à perpétuité. Et que personne n'ose le vendre, ou le mettre en gage ou écrire..... dans ce caveau-ci, et quiconque fera autrement que ceci, que sa part..... En l'année vingt et unième du roi Malchus, roi des Nabatéens.

Comp. n° 10, ligne 9. — ² Quadrilittère connu, **חמכ**. — ³ Comp. n° 2. — ⁴ Comp. — ⁵ Formule obscure.

N° 12.

Date illisible, antérieure à l'an 40 de notre ère.

1 דנה כפרא די עבדו מנעת והגרו בני עמירה
2 בר והכו לנפשהם וילדהם ואחרהם ודי
3 יהוא באחר מנעתו לה עריה די
4 חלקה מן כפרא הדכא יתובט נא
5 יוהניוא באחר הגרו דא
6 נאתו מנעתו נכ יה בנין ית לרושרא
7 אלהא בסף סלעין אלף ¹ ב
8 בות בסף סלעין אלף תרתי ²
9 לענת דושרא הל בנין די
10 [ת] שרי שנה לחרתה [מלך נכטו רחס עמה]

Ce caveau a été fait par Maénat et Higr, fils de Amiérah, fils de Walib, pour eux et leurs enfants et leurs descendants,..... Maénat..... une part de ce caveau-ci..... dans le lieu ³ de Higr..... une part..... Maénat..... il devra au dieu Dusarès mille *selain* d'argent..... mille *selain*..... la malédiction de Dusarès. Dans le mois de tisri de l'année..... de Hartat, roi des Nabatéens, aimant son peuple.

¹ Comp. n° 2. — ² Comp. n° 2. — ³ C'est-à-dire « tombeau ».

N° 13.

De l'an 6 de J.-C.

- 1 דנה נ[וחא]
- 2 וקינז תשרפיה ברתה תי לההול
- 3 פלה ולגכתועיה ואנת עהא ובנתה בנה
- 4 שתר אוהה כלה די יתקבר ו
- 5 דיעלא כגוחא כלה ככפרא דנה עיר
- 6 כתו בנתה עיר נוחא דנה
- 7 לא וכהא
- 8 דנה אלה
- 9 איתי עמה לדושרא סלעין מאה תרתי¹
- 10 [ול] כראנא חרתת מלכא כמן בירח טבת שנה
- 11 להרתת מלך נב[טו] הם עמה

Cette fosse sa fille
 tous ceux qui y seront enterrés
 dans toutes les fosses qui sont dans ce caveau autres que
 autre que cette fosse-ci

 il devra à Dusarès cent *selain* et à notre Seigneur le roi Hartat tout
 autant. Dans le mois de thébet de l'année 13 de Hartat, roi des Nabatéens, aimant
 son peuple.

¹ Formules analogues au n° 2 et dans plusieurs autres inscriptions, en particulier n° 10.
 ligne 12.

N° 14.

De l'an 40 de J.-C.

1 דנה כפרא די לשנו בר מקימו ולמיקת ברה
 2 וילדהם ואצדקהם¹ וכל מן ינפק בידה מן
 3 שבו ומיקת כתבת
 4 יתקבר בה ודי יתקבר ובליה עמה ש
 5 ול אא שבו ולאבוהא
 6 בשנת ארבעין ותמנא להרתת מלך נבטו
 7 רהם עמה

C'est ici le caveau de Sabon, fils de Moqimou, et de Meikat, son fils, leurs enfants et leurs descendants légitimes, et de quiconque apportera dans sa main, de la part de Sabon et de Meikat, un écrit qu'il y soit enterré, enterré Sabou En l'année quarante-huitième de Hartat², roi des Nabatéens, aimant son peuple.

¹ Comp. n° 15, ligne 2. — ² Voir n° 3.

N° 15.

An 49 de J.-C.

דנה כפרא די לבענו בר שעירו לנפשה ווידה ואהרה
 ואצדקה¹ ולא יכל אנוש די יזבן או יאנר כפרא דנה
 לעלם בשנת השע למלכו מלכא נבטו הנא
 עבירה פסלא

C'est ici le caveau de Banou, fils de Saïd, pour lui-même et ses enfants et ses descendants et ses *asdaq*. Et que personne n'ait le droit de vendre ou de louer ce caveau. A perpétuité. En l'année neuvième du roi Malchus, roi des Nabatéens. Hono [fils de] Obeidat, sculpteur.

¹ Comp. n° 14, ligne 2.

N° 16.

Date illisible, entre 40 et 75 après J.-C.

1 דנה כפרא די לעכרא ועליאל וגרה
 2 בני עותו¹ ולאהדילו אמהם
 3 ברת חמין ולמן ינפק בידה
 4 כתבת קברי יתקבר
 5 להם ולאחרהם בשנת ~~למלכו~~

Caveau destiné à Abda, à Aliël, à Géro, fils de Aut, et à Ahadilon, leur mère, fille de Hamin, et à quiconque produira en sa main un écrit ainsi conçu : « Qu'il soit enterré dans mon tombeau ». A eux et à leurs descendants. En l'année neuvième de Malchus.

¹ C'est, je pense, le nom de Γαῦτος, des inscriptions du Hauran.

N° 17.

Non datée.

דנה גוחא די עבד תהגדו למשלמנא
 אחוה ולכתמיתו כנתה די לא יתפתח
 עליהם לעלם

Ceci est le *loculus* qu'a fait Tahged pour Mesalmana, son frère, et pour Mahmit, sa fille. Qu'on n'ouvre pas sur eux durant l'éternité.

N° 18.

De l'an 17 après J.-C.

1 דנה כפרא ואונא¹ די
2 עבר מענה בר אנבן לנפשה
3 ובנוהי ובנתה וילדהם בשנת
4 עשרין וארבע לחרתת מלך
5 נבטו רחס עמה

Ceci est le caveau et tombeau que fit construire Maénat, fils d'Anban, pour lui-même et ses fils et ses filles et leurs enfants. En l'année vingt-quatrième de Hartat, roi des Nabatéens, aimant son peuple.

¹ Sans doute pour ארנא. Voyez Vogüé, p. 102.

N° 19.

De l'an 79 après J.-C.

דנה כפרא די לאמלת בר מליכה
לנפשה ולולדה אחרה בשנת
ארבע לרבאל מלך נבטו

Ceci est le caveau d'Amlat, fils de Melcikat, pour lui et pour ses enfants après lui. En l'année quatrième de Dabel, roi des Nabatéens.

N° 20.

Date illisible.

1 דנה כפרא די להגרו בר כתו ו

2 גאילה לנפשהם וולדהם ואחרהם

3 רי יתובא אמה'נ

4 אברין בשנה

5

C'est ici le caveau de Higr, fils de et de ilat, pour eux-mêmes et pour leurs enfants et leurs descendants.
En l'année.

N° 21.

Non datée.

דנה כפרא די לשכינת בר המרה מזניה ולכניה ולכניה
וילדהם

Ce caveau est pour Sakinat, fils de Tamrat¹. . . .² et ses fils et ses filles et leurs enfants.

¹ Ou : « fille de Marth ». — ² On pourrait lire מזניה; mais je ne peux croire qu'il faille voir ici le sens de « courtisane ».

N° 22.

לחיל בר דונא אהרה

Pour Hail, fils de Douna, (et) ses descendants.

N° 23.

עבדעבדה פסלא שלם

Abdobodat le sculpteur; salut.

N° 24.

עבדמלכו פסלא שלם

Abdmalkou le sculpteur; salut.

N° 25.

שלם שערו די

פסלא

Salut; Saadou le
sculpteur.

N° 26.

דבאר לפסלא

////

Souvenir au sculpteur. . .

.....

N° 27.

מערו יאבב בנבא

CLASSEMENT CHRONOLOGIQUE.

L'an 3 avant J.-C.	n° 7
L'an 2 après J.-C.	n° 2
L'an 6 après J.-C.	n° 13
Vers le même temps.	n° 8
L'an 16 après J.-C.	n° 9
L'an 17 après J.-C.	n° 18
Vers l'an 25 ou 30 après J.-C.	n° 4, 5, 6, 12, 20
L'an 40 après J.-C.	n° 3 et 14
L'an 41 après J.-C.	n° 1
L'an 49 après J.-C.	n° 15
A peu près vers 50.	n° 16
L'an 61.	n° 11
L'an 77.	n° 10.
L'an 79.	n° 19

ARTISTES MENTIONNÉS,

RANGÉS PAR ORDRE CHRONOLOGIQUE.

Abdobodat.	n° 7 et 23
Douma.	n° 7
Wabbélahi, fils d'Abdobodat.	n° 2 et 3
Aftah.	n° 4, 6, 8
Hono, fils d'Obeidat.	n° 15
Abdmalkou.	n° 24
Saad.	n° 25

Il est remarquable que dans cette liste on ne trouve aucun nom grec bien caractérisé. La civilisation nabatéenne avait cependant été

pénétrée par la civilisation grecque, comme le prouvent certains noms propres, des mots tels que *στρατηγός*, *ἐπαρχός*, et plus encore le style des monuments.

Le caractère des inscriptions de Medaïn-Salih témoigne d'un état social où l'on écrivait beaucoup et où les scribes se livraient à de grands caprices de calligraphie, ainsi que cela eut lieu plus tard pour l'écriture coulique.

E. R.

TRANSCRIPTION DES NOTES

CONTENUES

DANS LES PLANCHES.

NOTES ACCOMPAGNANT LES CARNETS¹.

Planche I. EL-AKH DAR. — WADY SANY.

Fol. a. Fragment of inscription of two lines, Boghraz el-Akhdar. — Scrawled inscription Kellat el-Akhdar upon squared masonry built in doorway.

Fol. b. Rudely hammered upon face of a great upright tabular sandstone block. Wady Sany.

Planche II. WADY SANY.

Fol. c. Other rude inscriptions in Wady Sany.

Fol. d. *Ibidem.* Fragment.

Planche III. MEDAÏN-SALIL. — JEBEL ETHLIB.

Fol. 1. 20 Dec. Jebel Ethlib S. W.

Fol. 2. *Ibidem.* Perpendicular inscriptions on side of a precipice; beside are rude figures of camels of the same age as a part of the inscriptions.

Planche IV.

Fol. 3 et 4. Jebel Ethlib, S. W. 20 Dec. Rock's face, perpendicular inscription; 5 or 6 letters beyond sight. Other perpendicular inscriptions high up where now no climbing.

Fol. 5. 20 Dec. Cut with a tool. — D°.

¹ Nous avons reproduit intégralement dans les planches les notes prises sur place par M. Doughty, pour conserver à ses carnets leur cachet d'absolue sincérité. Dans la transcription que nous en donnons ici, tout en respectant leur physionomie primitive, nous avons fait çà et là certaines suppressions sans importance ainsi que certaines modifications indiquées par M. Doughty lui-même. Pour les noms propres, nous avons laissé subsister les variantes que présentaient ses notes de voyage.

Planche V. MEDAIN-SALIH. — JEBEL ETHLIB.

- Fol. 6.* 20 Dec. Rock's face. — 12 Dec. 1876. Face of a rock, wasted. — Scored upon Beyt e' Sheykh. — Scored upon another monument. — Beyt e' Sheykh.
Fol. 8. 21 Dec. Without the Diwan. Rock's face.

Planche VI.

- Fol. 7.* The Diwan. Rock's face at the Diwan. Inscription within the Diwan. Rude human figures are chalked high up with Gherrra which is used to mark sheep in Syne (red ochre). They are of the ancients Arabs.
Fol. 8. 21 Dec. Straits of the Diwan. Narrow sandstone straights.

Planche VII.

- Fol. 10.* 21 Dec. Scored deeply and plain. Strait of the sandstone rocks. Perpendicular inscription 15-20 feet on the wall of the rock.
Fol. 11. The same. 21 Dec.

Planche VIII.

- Fol. 12.* 9 Jan. Lightly scored upon a rock's face high up. — 9 Jan. Scored under the inscription plate of a monument which I could not reach. — The inscription above the great monument 40 feet wide Mahal el-Mejlis, cut deeply in the inscription plate in great letters. — (13 Jan. Reimpressed.)
Fol. 14. 16 Jan. (and impressed, Jan. 18.) Hastily sculptured with single blows of a chisel on the face of the small quarry, S. Side of J. Ethlib. The letters all distinct, excepted the last line which I have imitated in drawing. Other antique inscriptions which are in the letters of the funeral monuments, but worn away and wasted by the beating of the dusty wind, are not to be more legible. The quarry is thus old as the monuments and old as the Aly inscriptions. — Inscribed upon a building stone in wall of Kella (the last 4 elements are the *wasm* or Camel brand of the Arab el-Fejîr, nomads of this country).

Planche IX.

- Fol. 13.* 15 Jan. Scored in the rough wrought niche of a monument without inscription. — 16 Jan. J. Ethlib, face of the rock. Wasted. — 16 Jan. Obscure, near the Diwan, with other many illegible scorings in the like letters. And copied 21 Dec. — 16 Jan. Great letters, Strait of the Diwan. — J. Ethlib S. W
Fol. 15. Face of a rock between J. Ethlib and Kasr el-Bint; and was copied 20 Dec.; now more perfectly. — Rocks at J. Ethlib (North). 23 Jan. — Same rocks. — *Idem.* — 24 Jan. Jebel Ethlib (North) with rude outlines of camels.

Planche X.

- Fol. 16 et 17.* Long inscription in great letters at Ethlib, above the Diwan rocks.

Planche XI. MEDAIN-SALIH. — JEBEL ETHLIB.

Fol. 18. 13 May. Face of a quarry, Ethlib Western face. In part defaced, with old scorings. — Perpendicular inscription. Forced up and down.

Fol. 19. 13 May. Same quarry. — 15 May. Ethlib, opposite the long inscription. In the deep cleft below.

Planche XII. EL ALLY. — EL KUREYBY.

Fol. 20. 28 Dec. Building stone of a window set on end. The stone, a tablet, 2 feet in length, is built and set up lengthwise in the wall of room spanning the street, in the manner there (see the plate), at the side of a window. — Stone in a wall, a little within the northern gate, 3 feet from the ground, in the like embossed letters; but some obscure and some mutilated. It was brought from the Helweyl en Naka, from which perhaps the other building stones were fetched.

Fol. 21. Is the now the lintel of a house door. Is daubed with whitening, and many of the letters are perished away. Embossed double letters divided with embossed lines. — Obscure inscription. Stone over a doorway; embossed letters. 31 Dec. — Is scored obscurely upon a small stone in a house wall; not embossed nor interlined. — Old *vasm* upon a stone walled in. — Obscure worn sandstone in a wall. Embossed letters and lines. — Other two or more inscriptions there are upon the houses high up, I could not plainly distinguish (discern) the letters. Others there are, some say, within the houses.

Planche XIII.

Fol. 22. Aly, 4 Jan. The precipice is shattered sheer at the foot of the mountain in places also hewn (tooled); in this the chambers and inscriptions.

Fol. 23. Khaby, Aly, 4 Jan. Scored on the face of a sepulchre; irregular steps descend within.

Planche XIV.

Fol. 24. In the precipice where are hewn the image-tablets.

Fol. 25. Aly, 4 Jan. On an outlying sandstone rock. Scored in plain great letters. — Walled stone, Aly, very obscure, 5 Jan.; is set on its long side (from El-Khreyby). — On a building stone. 5 Jan.

Planche XV.

Fol. 26 et 27. 6 Jan., n° 3. (Here begin the letters to be embossed.) — 6 Jan. n° 4. At the side of the last.

Fol. 28. 6 Jan., n° 5. Beneath the 3rd to the ground.

Planche XVI.

Fol. 29. 6 Jan., n° 1. Above all in embossed letters. — N° 2. 6 Jan. Line by itself next under the uppermost inscription.

Fol. 30. 5 Jan. Building stone site under the first copied at the window side. — Building stone in an outward wall near the town end South. — Other shallow building stone.

Planche XVII. EL ALLY. — EL KHREYBY.

Fol. 31. Aly, 4 Jan.

Fol. 32. Aly, 4 Jan. Some of the perpendicular letters obscure. The rock is harder than that at Hejr, and as that under the bear in W. Sany. Many of the inscriptions without defect, fresh as newly scored and for this perhaps were not hewn more funeral chambers as there, for the much greater difficulty and expense; but are commonly *loculi* perpendicular at the rock's face. These *loculi*, so it may seem, were not closed with any door or shutters, wood or stone.

Planche XVIII. MUBRAK EN-NAKA (*El-Mezham*).

Fol. 33. 5 May.

Fol. 34. *Idem.*

Planche XIX.

Fol. 35. 5 May.

Fol. 36. *Idem.*

Planche XX. RIKB EL-HEJR.

Fol. 37. 24 Dec. Perpendicular inscriptions, on the rock's face. — Ostrich. Horseman leading a camel.

Fol. 40. 24 Dec. Sunset.

Planche XXI.

Fol. 38. 24 Dec., 5 P. M. all plain and fresh looking in a hollow and shelter, where they may have had custom to shelter for the night.

Fol. 39. 24 Dec., 5 P. M. All like fresh looking as quite plain.

Planche XXII. MAKUTTABA. *Dirat el-Fejr*. Great water pool. Cliffs of watering place with many images of camels.

Fol. 41 et 42. 23 Feb. β 661. Is near Khusher-Kèesh camp, Fukara district, uplands above Dar el-Hamra.

Planche XXIII. BISSHR AND FEJIR DESERT.

Fol. 43. Cliff one day East of Teyma. — Face of a rock, Khusher-Kish camp, place of the Fukara (*dirat el-Fejr*), with large outlines of camels.

Fol. 44. Lower pool near Ybba Moghrair. — Flat rocks *Dirat Bissr*, same neighbourhood.

Planche XXIV. AYN ALIA. (*Ybba Moghrair*).

Fol. 45 et 46. 15 March. Perpendicular and other inscriptions.

Planche XXV. YBBA MOGHRAIR. — JEBEL BIRRD.

Fol. 47. Ayn Alia in Ybba Moghrayr : Dirat Bisshr. 15 March. — Ayn Aleca at § 652. Ibbā Mogāir mountain. Perennial water pools, shadowed, turned to the North, in Bishir district, with figures of horses, dogs, b'dûn, goat and wild kinè. — Perpendicular and other inscriptions, were one or two old arabic inscriptions.

Fol. 48. BISSHR AND FEJIR DIRA. The watering place in Jebel Birrd, with figures of camels, and often antique figures of the human hand «chef el-Hallalat». 26 April.

Planche XXVI. WADY GÂRIB TO TEYMA.

Fol. 49. Wady Gârib, in the Harrat Aweyrid; E. side : Cliff above tumulus of Abu Zayds' Mother. Perpendicular inscription. — Wasm (old camel brand). — Scored table, length some 4 1/2 feet of which are several such in the place. — Ancient figures of camels of large size : length 5 feet. Wady Gârib, 24 June. — Large figure of « Abu Zayd's camel » scored there.

Fol. 50. El Hejr to Teyma. 1° Cliff between wadies Thirba and Schellal : Harrat el-Aweyrid East (or Hejr) side. 2° Cliff between Hejr and Teyma (3 1/2 leagues N. of Hejr).

Planche XXVII. TEYMA.

Fol. 51 et 53. 1° Side stone of a blocked doorway in the strait wall, 25 yards North of Saïd's gate, and set up thus endwise. (Another stone with a like inscription said to be among the fallen down in the ruin of the Haday.)

2° Stone of a threshold, last house but one towards the gate past khalafs; a tablet is engraved in the midst, the letters being left standing handsomely in relief. Teyma. The letters are high 2 inches.

3° Obscure inscription Kasr-Zellûm building, Teyma.

Fol. 52. Kaçr Zellûm, Teyma. Four squarred ruins of rude uncemented blocks, some 30 yards upon each side; the walls filled in with rubble. Large block building stone in the wall, laid upon the side; the inscribed letters obscure. — Other obscure letters upon other stones Kaçr Zellûm.

Planche XXVIII. KHAYBAR.

Fol. 54. These the only antique inscriptions I could find there; but many there are in Kufic. — Scored with very well drawn figures of animals and amongst them the wild cow (Othjahy), upon the basalt figgera, above the military camping place.

Fol. 55. TAYIF (Ria e' Zellala). Near Kurn el-Menzil and road to e' Tayif. Perpendicular inscription. In Ria e' Zellala, near Kurn el-Menzil and road to e' Tayif; written about a human effigy and all is beaten upon a great rock of grey granite.

NOTES QUI ACCOMPAGNAIENT LES DESSINS.

(Pl. XXIX à XLVII.)

CARTE. Part of North Western Arabia and Nejd.

1. Medaïn-Salih from the North. — White sand drifts. Great border. — Sandy plain. — Jebel Ethlib. — Moslem « tomb of the Pasha ». — Il Borj. — Heaped strew and arab tents. Garden and Palmers. — The kellat. — J. Auweyrid. — J. Harra.
2. The Valley-Plain of El-Hejr. Medaïn Sâlih.
3. 12 Dec. 1876, Medaïn-Salih. Width of the monument, pillar to pillar, 22 feet. — The bird the body thick and as an owl. The head is broken away; is in high relief. Globular lined ornaments below at either hand. — Within, almost rude and rough wrought as ever also at Wady Mousa; as may seem fitted rather for a burial chamber than for a dwelling. Within are shallow shelves excavated in the wall as for bedding, and not of capacity for dead bodies.
4. Kasr el-Bint rock (West face).
- 4 bis. Kasr el-Bint, Dec. 15. Rugged sandstone monument. — Is inaccessible.
5. 12 Dec. 1876. Another portal in the rock near and opposite to the former with the bird. The side ornaments winged griffons. The figures wasted; the central ornament broken and weathered away. — Within are 6 (two in every wall) deep sunken niches for the dead, with many remaining bones. — 15 Jan. Monument of the griffons repeated.
6. 14 Dec. Other design of a doorway.
7. 15 Dec. The figures are of sea-birds, they say, and this resembles indeed a pelican.
8. Another monument begun from above and below only the door opened and chamber cavated.
9. 12 Jan. Mahal el-Meylis. Is 40 feet wide. This is a remarkable landmark for the Kellat. — The frontispiece is unfinished, left in the rough from the upper level of the doorway downwards.
10. 27 Jan. The inscription impressed. The monument, unperfected without, within is regularly excavated. The monument within less than man's height.
- 10 a. The section.

- 10*b*. Shadow. — Recess within chamber. — Recess within sunken sepulchre. — *Loculus*.
11. Inconsiderable monument. The upper parts only wrought out below the rude rock, the niche also not extended below.
12. In the monument with the ornament of Sphinxes (Griffons) over the doorway. The chamber high above man's height. — Two *loculi* and sunken sepulchre in recess. — Sunken sepulchre and bones in recess. — The like.
- 13 et 14. Borj rocks. 14 dec. Within the second monument with the bird (the head also away) and the like globular side ornaments. The whole monument without is as the former in Jebel Ethlib perfectly without difference. The four walls of the sepulchral chamber. — The plan shape within is very rude and quite irregular. A mere funeral chamber, depositor of the dead; the whole is left in the rough.
15. Beit Akhraemât. (The side figures as with a long side hair.)
16. 15 Jan. Monument in Kasr el-Bint rocks elevated, with surface sepulchres sunk in the rock in front.
17. Site of Medain-Salih.
18. 22 Dec. Ksur B'thænah (B'theynty).
19. Inscription plate unwritten. Head broken and wasted. Width of bird, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet.
20. 15 dec. Over doorway of Beyt es-Sheikh (Abu el-Bint); a bird as in the last drawn under Kasr el-Bint, where and the like globular side ornaments; only the shield of inscription above.
(In Beyt es-Sheikh are 20 niches shelves and 3 deep funeral recesses.)
21. Door next Beyt es-Sheikh, S. — Side view of a very faintly sculptured bird next monument. Dec. 15.
(The monuments, where are open and sunken sepulchres, have all within a foul charnel-house smell. At every doorway is the mortise of a bar. The doors were then wooden and have thus perished.)
22. Kaṣr e'Çāny. Nail holes upon a wasted portal irregularly disposed, and larger holes at the sides below.
23. Holes left in an irregular order in many of the monuments.
- 24-29. Ornaments of heads *beeban* Ethlib, front of Kasr el-Bint. — Kasr el-Bint Rocks.
10 Jan. — Crown. Like ornament with strings, not uncommon over the doorways.
— Central ornament over a doorway; resembles an human head; wasted : 2 feet high. — Portal with ornament of human head lolling out the tongue.
- 30 et 31. 14 Dec. Rocks opposite Jebel Ethlib. (The interiors of some of the funeral chambers where are regular sunken sepulchres resembles those about Jerusalem.)
32. Aly, 4 Jan. Face of the precipice, with small perpendicular tombs. These are cut

in the length of a human body. — Tablets void — Hewn obliquely. — Inscription clearly scored in small letters, but so high that I could not read.

33. Detail.

34. The Diwan. Straight with votive tablets as in the Sik-Petra (as those drawn yesterday.) — The chamber within quite as a large room; it is not excavated to a perfect square, but somewhat obliques. — The floor is deep sand; there are found no bones nor are any strewes at the surface. Bears no contemporal inscription, and the front above is broken away.

35-46. 20 Dec. Jebel Ethlib, S. votive tablets. — 4 feet. — Other small votive tablet. 3 feet 3 in. Rudely cut. — 16 Jan. tablet without inscription, wide 3 feet. — An inscription, high 5 feet. This impressed also Jan. 18 (appears after this sort; lower lines indistinct); 2 1/2 feet wide, rude, empty, effaced inscription; boss. high 6 feet. — 2 1/2 feet. — Jebel Ethlib, N. E.; wide 2 feet 4 in. Rudely cut. — Jebel Ethlib S. W. 20 Dec. Minute monument and votive tablet, width, 5 1/2 feet. Rock's face; indistinct. — Other minute design. The monuments all antique. — Wide, 2 feet 4 in. — Wide, 2 feet. — Wide, 2 feet 3 in.

47. Muḥrak en-Naka, looking North (el-Mezham of the Beduins). — Desert thorn trees. — Rocks in the passage heaped with stones. A place of malediction.

48. Khaybar.

49. Scorings to the high 25 feet. — 20 feet upon the precipice wall.

50. Antique scored human figure, high 16 in.

51. Ibha Mogair, March 15.

52. Khaybar; antique inscriptions and figures of animals.

NOTES QUI ACCOMPAGNAIENT LES ESTAMPAGES.

(Pl. XLIX à LVII.)

1. Strait of the Diwan. 15 Jan. Above the tablet. Face of the rock.

2. Kasr el-Bint rocks. Inscription high up. Copied with some danger. 26 Jan. The small is scored immediately below and was copied before in writing.

3. Ksur B'thanah (B'theyny) rocks. 13 Jan.

4. 27 Jan. Inscription above the single unfinished monument (fig. 10) between K. el-Sheykh (Mahal el-Meylis), and the western ksur, to which I reached, by climbing on the unfinished pont composed of the broken part. In the paper, it is a deep hole in the soft sandy inscription.

5. Rocks between Kasr el-Bint and Ksur B'thanah (B'theyny).

6. B'they ny rocks. 13 Jan.
7. K'sur B'they ny rocks. Inscription plate over a sculptured eagle. One of the better monuments. 13 Jan.
8. 12 Jan. Monument between Kasr el-Bint and B'they ny.
9. Kasr el-Bint. An interior. Jan. 9.
10. B'they ny rocks. 13 Jan.
11. Rocks between Kasr el-Bint and Ksur B'they ny. 12 Jan.
12. Ksur B'they ny, 22 Dec.
13. Kasr el-Bint rocks, 10 Jan.
14. B'they ny rocks, 13 Jan.
15. Kasr el-Bint rocks, 10 Jan.
16. B'they ny rocks, 13 Jan.
17. From within a low monument; scored upon rough hewn wall. Kasr el-Bint rocks, 10 Jan.
19. B'they ny rocks, 13 Jan.
20. Kasr el-Bint rocks. Hejr, 10 Jan.
21. (*Pas d'indication.*)
22. A great monument, 48 feet side. On the inscription plate only these letters. Between B'they ny and Kasr el-Bint. Upon a rock alone. 12 Jan. Under the inscription plate, an eagle.
23. 18 Jan. Jebel Ethlib. Face of the rock, S. W. Side.
24. 18 Jan. Jebel Ethlib. Face of the rock, S. W. Side.
25. 18 Jan. Jebel Ethlib. Face of the rock, S. W. Side.
26. Strait of the Diwan. Face of the rock. 18 Jan.
27. Jebel Ethlib, face of the rock, S. W. Side.
28. Jebel Ethlib, face of the quarry, S. W. end. 16 Jan.
29. Building stone in the Kellat. Hejr, 3 Feb.
30. Building stone in the Kellat. Hejr, 3 Feb.

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4. The other man square
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Rudely hammered upon face of great
upright tabular sandstone block

Wady Samy

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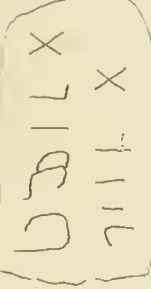
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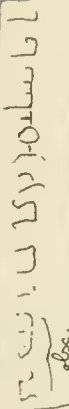


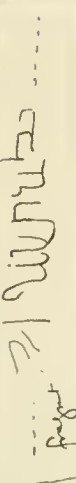
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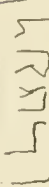
Water of Dorian marks face

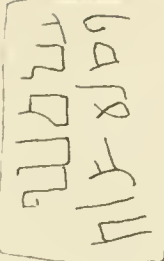


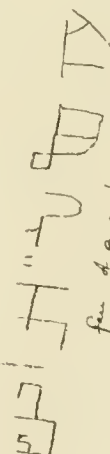










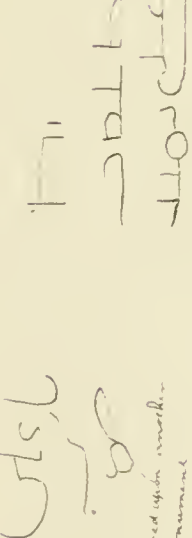


 for of a rock
 water, obscure

6. 8. 10.



 scored upon or Shup.



 scored upon another monument
 Boyl e Shup.

212

1/9

The Divan

سبب

rocks face at the Divan

سبب

سبب

سبب

obscure

EYTY



سبب

سبب

سبب

سبب

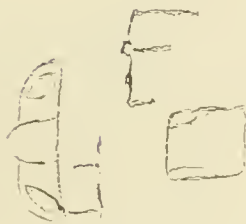
سبب

سبب

سبب



Rude human figures are
chiseled high up at Ghena
which is used as mark sheep
in zone (red ochre) the
one of the ancient Arabs



Kanna Straight

سبب

سبب

سبب

سبب

سبب

سبب

near the 13 reg

سبب

Strata of the Divan

2
PUPPUPUP
scared in road wrong side of a monument
just under 10 yds

16 yds.
10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100
of Ethlib face of rock
waters

16 yds.
discuss near of Ethlib
notes near of Ethlib
= 8 Eth. letters

16 yds.
of letters of Ethlib

16 yds.
of Ethlib S.W.

clearer print
face of rock Ethlib v. k. el Boud
was 100 yds
now more perfectly

19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100
rocks at Ethlib v. 25 yds. plane

16 yds.
discuss near of Ethlib
notes near of Ethlib
= 8 Eth. letters

16 yds.
clearer print

16 yds.
of letters of Ethlib
= 8 Eth. letters
face of rock Ethlib v. k. el Boud

fol. 16

...
...

Handwritten text in Arabic script, likely a fragment of a longer inscription.

*...
... Phil about the Diwan of
when many Arabi inscr. 13 May*

fol. 17

*This is one long
original*

Handwritten text in Arabic script, likely a fragment of a longer inscription.

long

fol. 18

part. in
H Z F
[3 E [[
I H E } 0 田 0

Head of a stone

7077 7977 1177
7077 7977 1177
7077 7977 1177

in part of a stone

face of a quarry 13 May

fol. 19

484 1-016
616 9070

same quarry
13 May

7077 7977 1177

Spill of a long in
15 May. plan.

1-016 9070

7077 7977 1177

in of deep cliff below

(1' 25)

1131019
7H H
927

plan

(X804)

- L. den

HX:90
4) 9

590)11111111
XACD 11111111

fish with anten
by figure

(2015X) as 1

(1' 25)

in middle
standst with
seam's plan
of bottom

209
7SKK

7M K O H 3 R 1 7 H O X
7 O A B 1 4 6 5 A
7 K 3 X 1 1 5 H O

25" Jan

2005Y O S S
P P 9 K S
1 > X 1 1 9 0 K S Y
9 9 4 1 1 C 1 1 1
(1 L 1 1 0 7 1 1
2 1 1 1 1 X
1 1 1 1 1 >
1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1

walked stone
by observe
in act on is long side

GHR

on back of stone
5 Jan

ab 4 Jan

(fol. 32)

(fol. 31)

ab. 1. Jan

47899
1154118
1100411
10844

+ 7 7 7
" 11 11 11

ab. 1. Jan

7 7 7
11 11 11

7 7 7
11 11 11

47899
1154118
1100411
10844

x 120 / Bull 501 4000

7 7 7
11 11 11

7 7 7
11 11 11

7 7 7
11 11 11

7 7 7
11 11 11

7 7 7
11 11 11

ab. 1. Jan

7 7 7
11 11 11
7 7 7
11 11 11
7 7 7
11 11 11

ab. 1. Jan

ab. 1. Jan

of rock is landing of it at village
very long & shining brown
many of it was not kept for
on many sides exposed to public
perhaps many have been taken
was for the purpose of building
but one piece of land perhaps
at 12 miles from the land
about 12 miles from the land

7 7 7
11 11 11
7 7 7
11 11 11

ab. 1. Jan

Manuscript in Hebrew
5 May

וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע

X7X4B

וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע

וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע

וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע

וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע

is not

Manuscript in Hebrew
5 May

וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע

וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע

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הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

1/ 35

under a tree
5 May

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ՀԵՐԱՆԻՍԻՆԻՍ

INTENT

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1/ 36

under a tree
5 May

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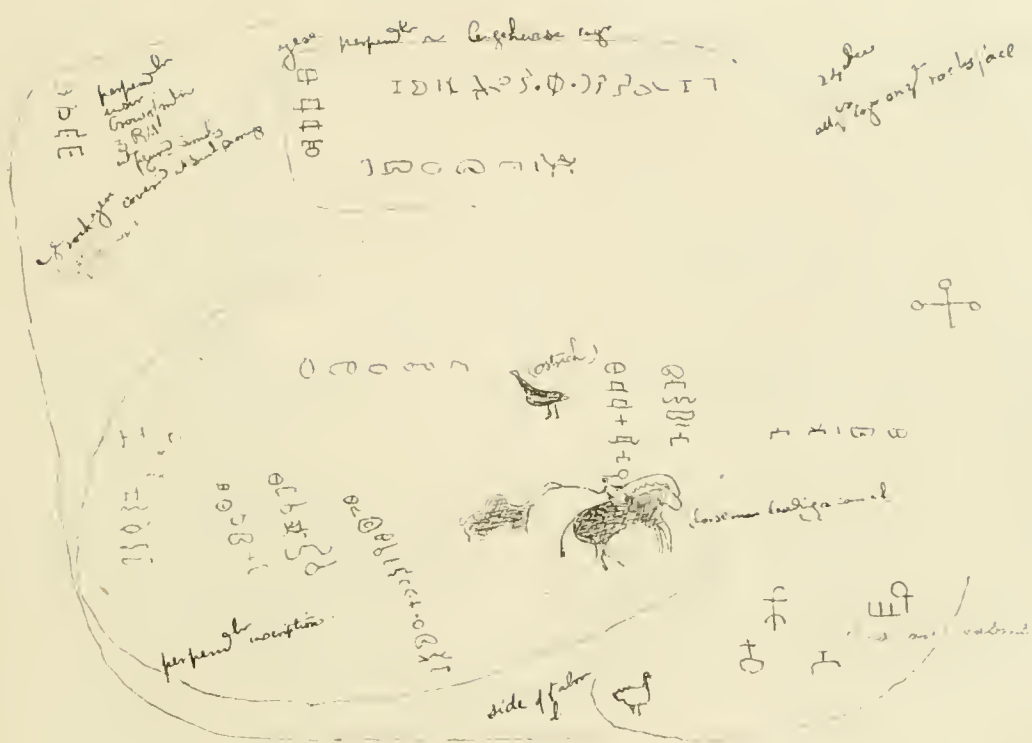
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ՀԵՐԱՆԻՍԻՆԻՍ

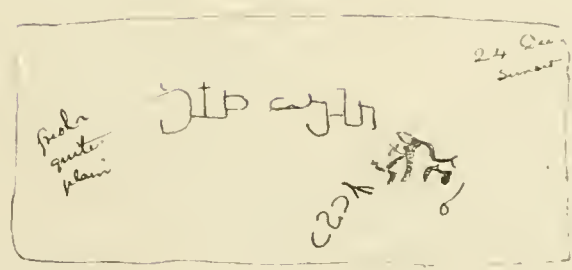
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ՀԵՐԱՆԻՍԻՆԻՍ

f. 37



f. 40



بالله سو علي بن هاجر
عبد الله بن
ليسو
طاهر فالو سو باسد
حضر بن
الحسن و حسن
سونا الكافي عالم بن احمد بن عبد الله
بن الحسن بن علي بن ابي طالب

24 Dec 5 PM all plain
a fresh look in
a house a
shell for a
customer may be
had in a shell
for 8 night

عبد الله بن ابي بكر
الصادق بن علي بن ابي طالب

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٤٤٤٤
٥٥٥٥
٦٦٦٦

احمد بن ابراهيم
بن علي بن ابي طالب

٩٩٥٥
٤٤٤٤
٥٥٥٥
٦٦٦٦

احمد بن حبيب
بن علي بن ابي طالب

احمد بن محمد بن علي بن ابي طالب
بن علي بن ابي طالب

24 Dec 5 PM
all like fresh
look as quite
plain

احمد بن محمد بن علي بن ابي طالب
بن علي بن ابي طالب
بن علي بن ابي طالب
بن علي بن ابي طالب

احمد بن محمد بن علي بن ابي طالب
بن علي بن ابي طالب

احمد بن محمد بن علي بن ابي طالب
بن علي بن ابي طالب
بن علي بن ابي طالب
بن علي بن ابي طالب

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(1543)

+ (1544) 1544
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15 March

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ሐረክሪት ለሀይማኖት ጥላቻ
ሐረክሪት ለሀይማኖት ጥላቻ

ሐረክሪት ለሀይማኖት ጥላቻ

ሐረክሪት ለሀይማኖት ጥላቻ

ሐረክሪት ለሀይማኖት ጥላቻ
ሐረክሪት ለሀይማኖት ጥላቻ

(1/20)

ሐረክሪት ለሀይማኖት ጥላቻ

ሐረክሪት ለሀይማኖት ጥላቻ

ሐረክሪት ለሀይማኖት ጥላቻ

ሐረክሪት ለሀይማኖት ጥላቻ

ሐረክሪት ለሀይማኖት ጥላቻ

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ሐረክሪት ለሀይማኖት ጥላቻ

ሐረክሪት ለሀይማኖት ጥላቻ

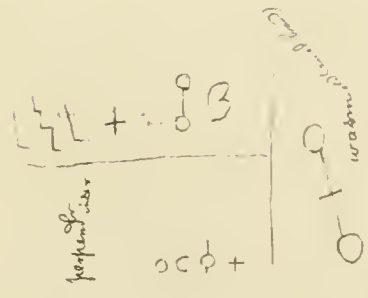
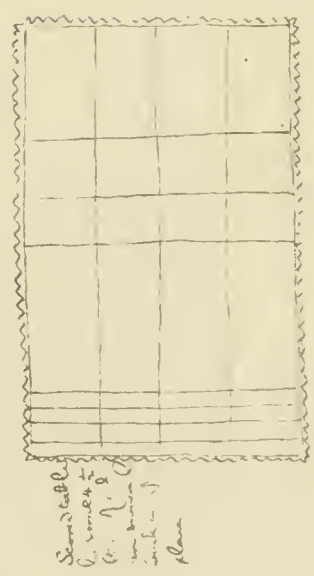
ሐረክሪት ለሀይማኖት ጥላቻ

ሐረክሪት ለሀይማኖት ጥላቻ

(fol. 3a)

(fol. 4a)

710200
 610000+72
 1117X
 1011+
 1011+74



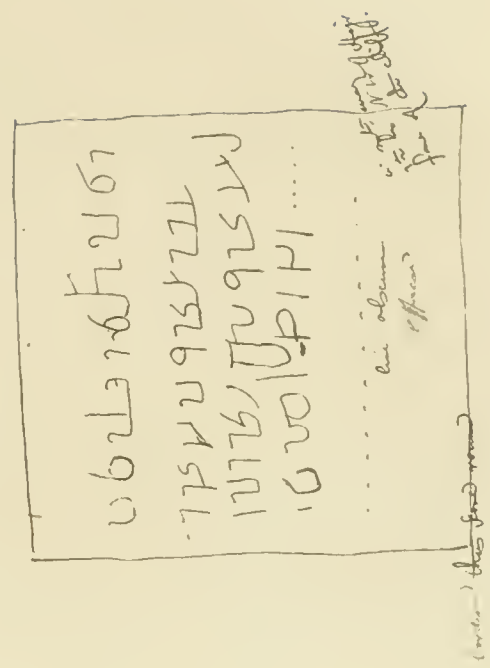
distant from camp
 of large - 1000 50
 W. Garib. 24 June
 near to place is original marked
 grave of Abu Karim's mother.



large figure of Abu Karim's mother
 from 1000

Calcutta Wadib
 Thakur a Shalal
 (Harriet St. Augustid
 5/10/10)

+ X101X0
 10001011



(fol 52)

(fol 51 et 52)

and
the words are found 2 sylls
of each gate is at the entrance.

Broken stone is an ancient altar
and is found in the way

Handwritten text in a rectangular box, likely a list of symbols or characters.

Large handwritten text block, possibly a list of symbols or characters.

Handwritten text in a rectangular box, possibly a list of symbols or characters.

Handwritten notes and symbols below the box.

Handwritten notes and symbols to the right of the box.

Kar Zellim, Teyma
foundy ruins of mch
unmarked by some
30 yds. wide of road
filled in with rubble.

Handwritten text and symbols at the bottom left.

Handwritten text and symbols at the bottom right.

other obscure
broken stones
Kar Zellim

Place name Kar Zellim
Antiquary of Ch. m. m.
V. m. m. - m. m. m. m. m.

(fol. 54.)

٢٢٢٢٢

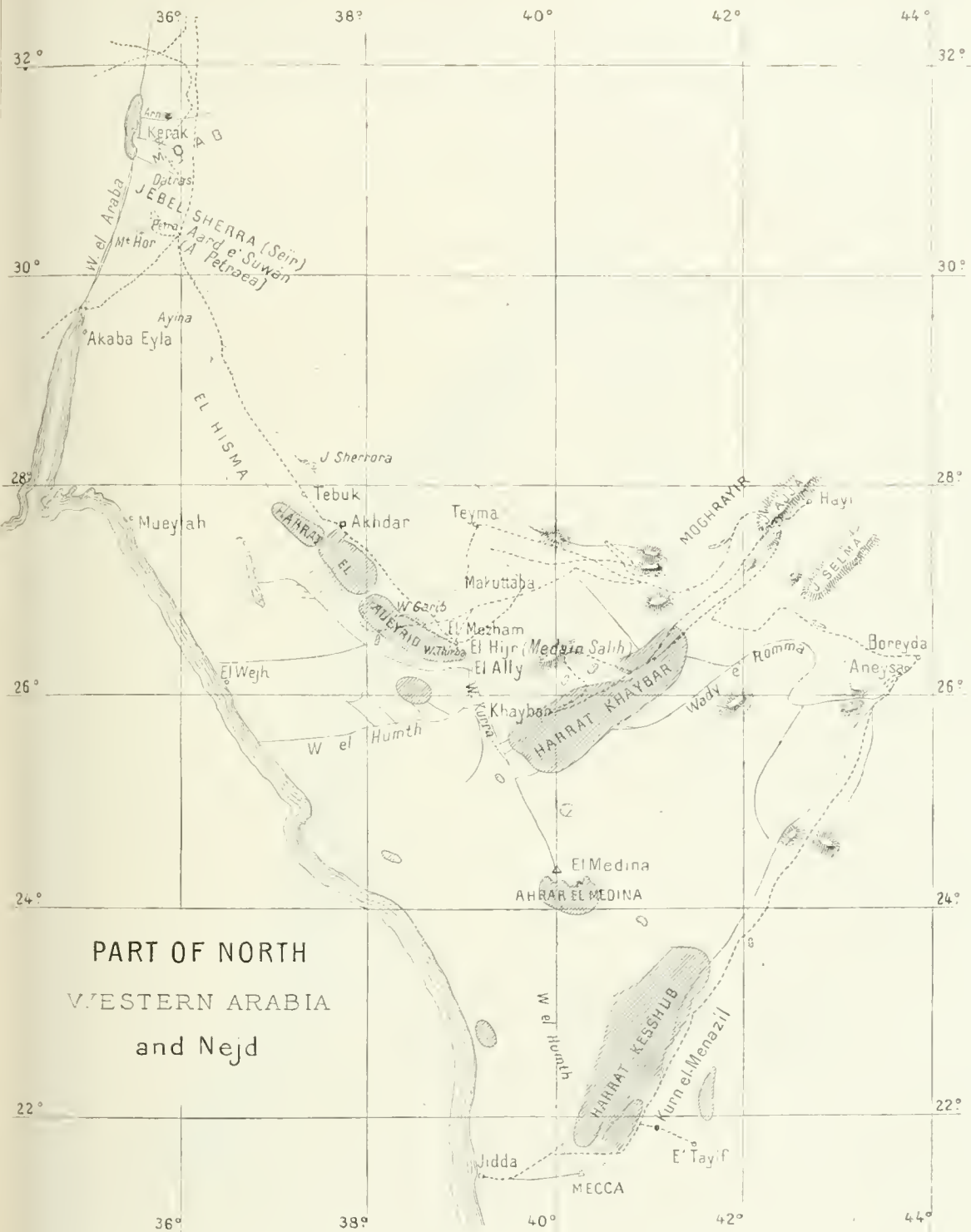
Khaybar.
 when it is very much more than it is
 but many, etc. are not kept.

٩٩٧٧٩٩
 + ٧٧٧٧
 ٩٩٧٧٩٩

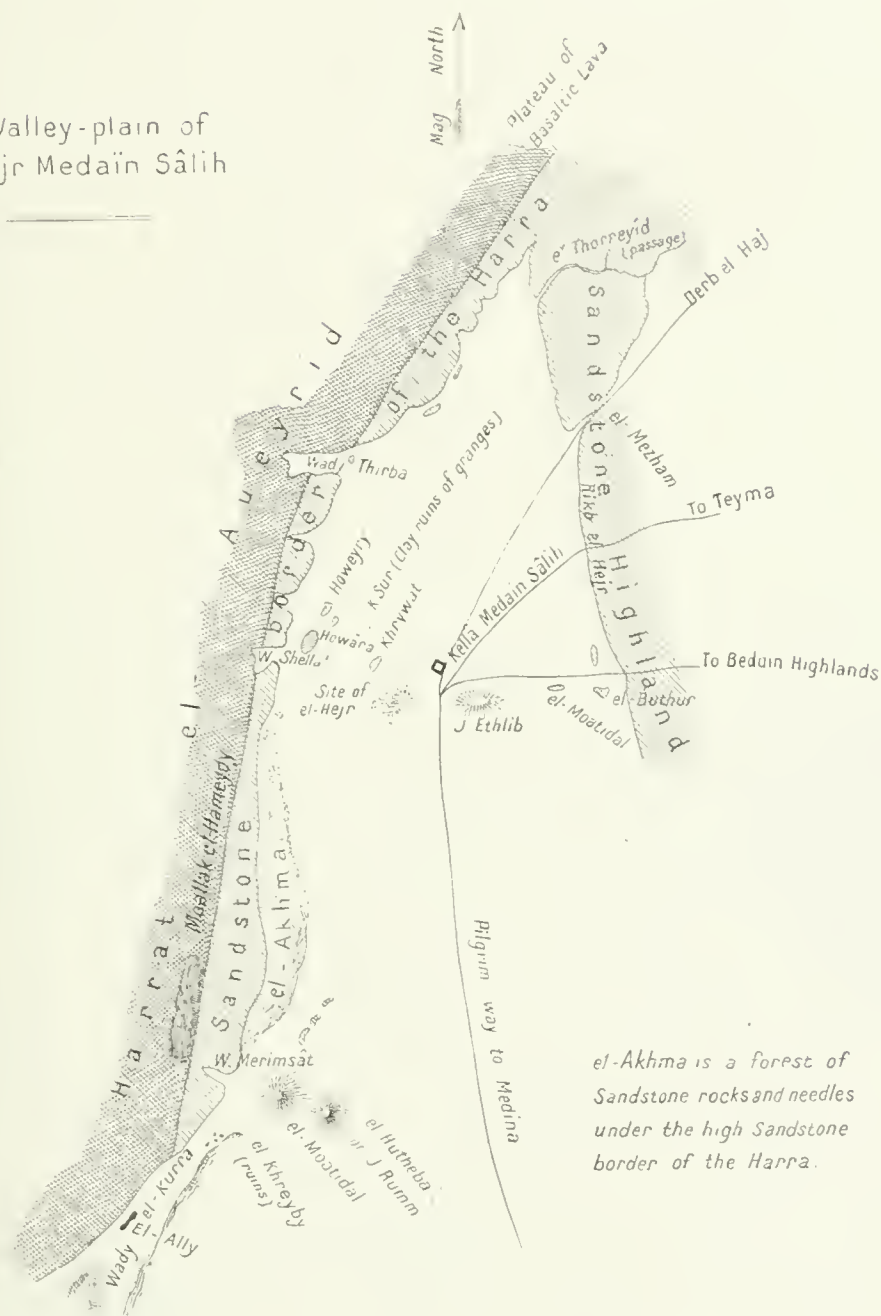
perpendicular sides

standing on very well known. (Quarry/communal)
 upon the pyramids when the small camp
 place.

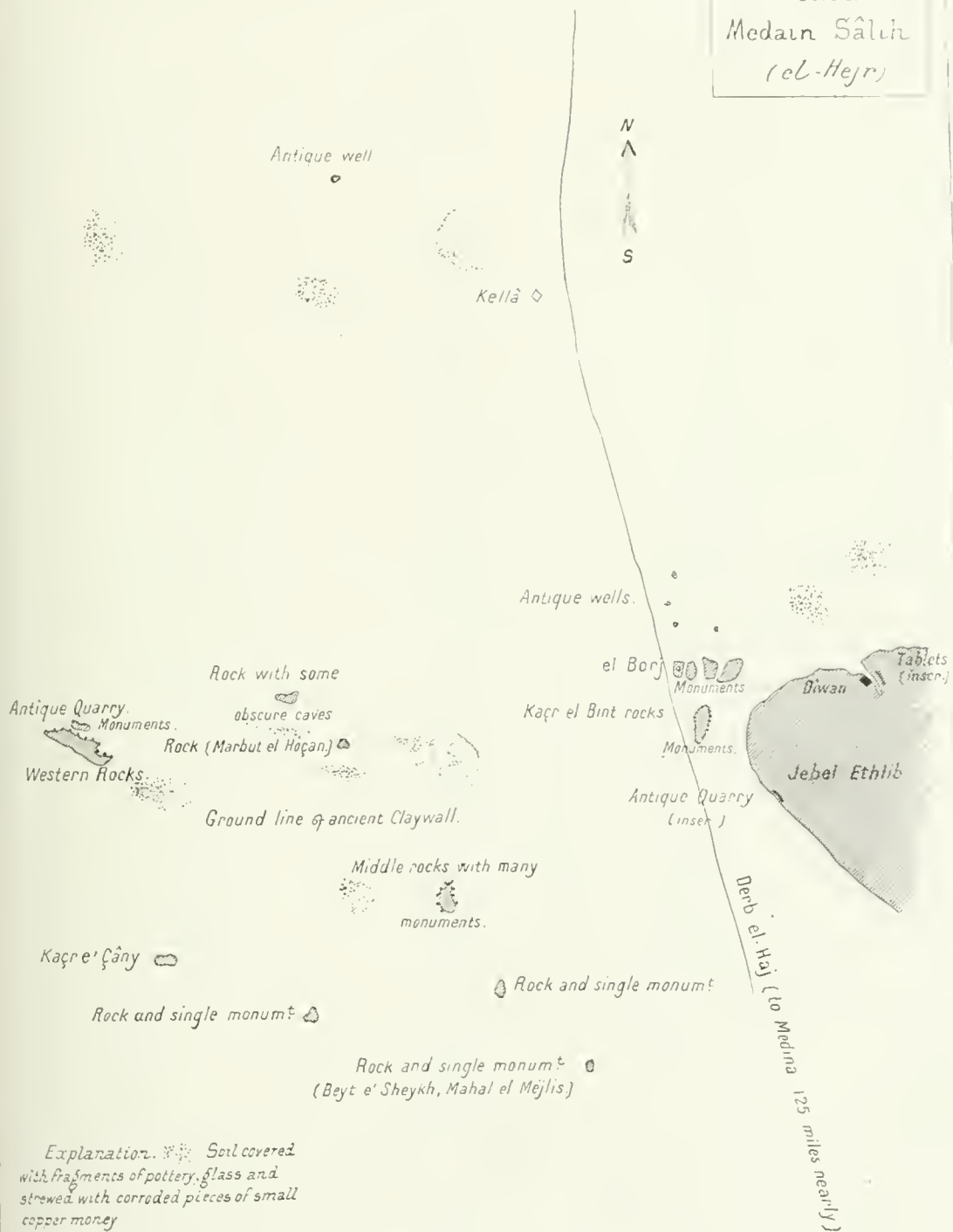
Hia e' Zellala near Kurn el-Menzela road to
 e' Dajaf. written about an human effigy & all
 broken upon a great rock of grey granite.



The Valley-plain of el-Hejr Medaïn Sâlih



Site of
Medain Sâlih
(el-Hejr)





(Tomb of the Pasha)

Jebel Ethib

The Kella



Jebel Moallak el Hameydy

Platform of the Harra



The Harra

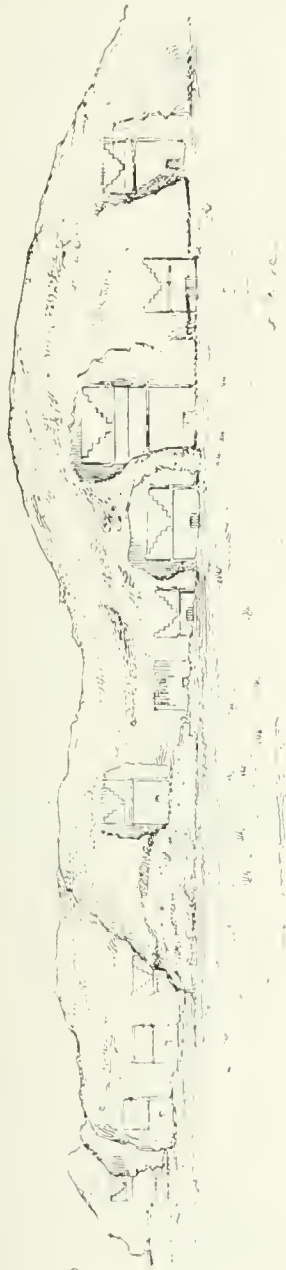
The Howwâra

The Howweyry

The Harra

MEDAIN-SALIH. (Panorama)

18

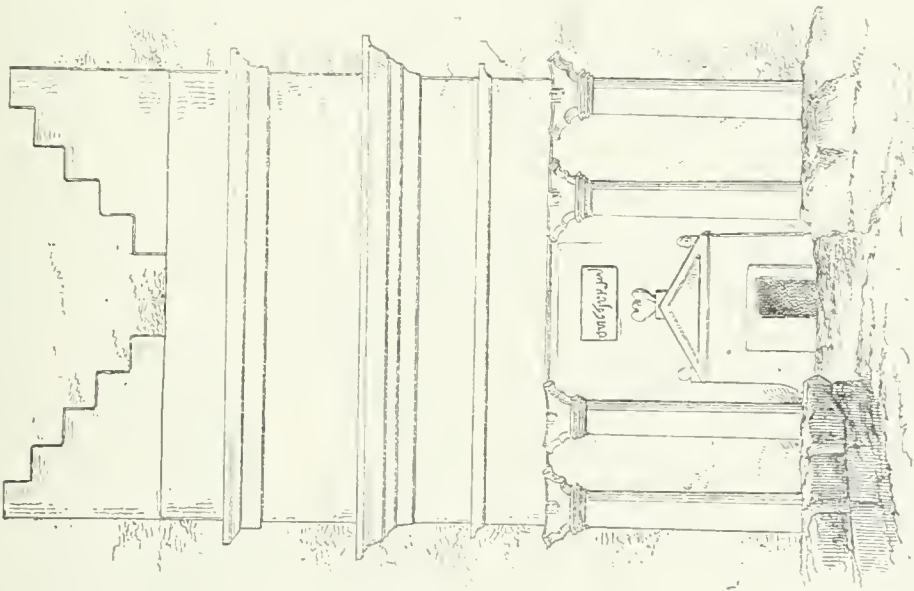
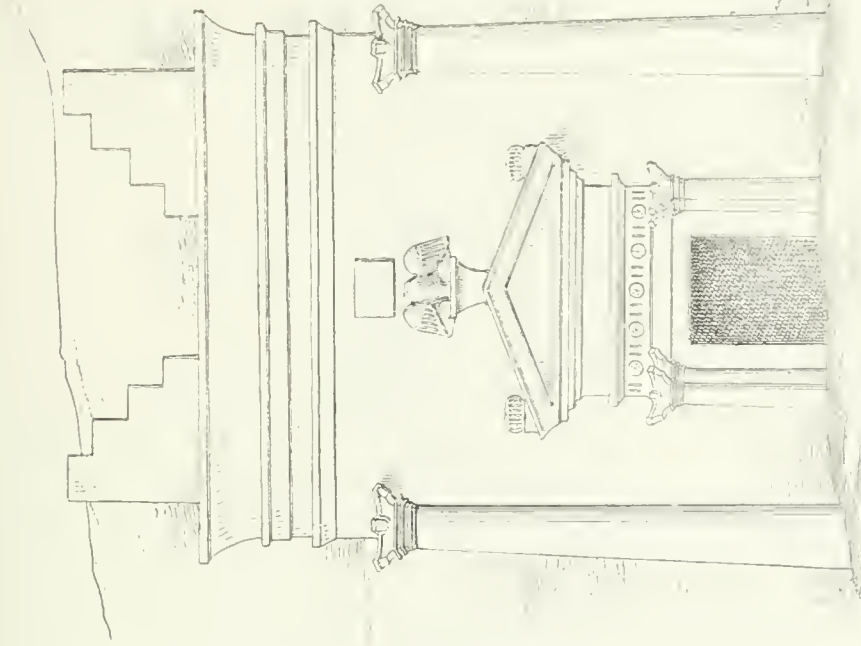


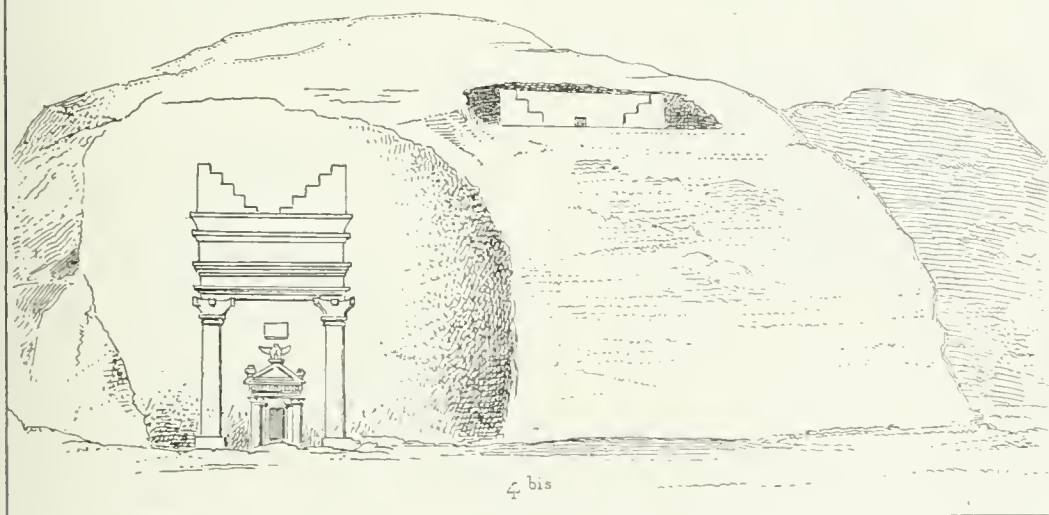
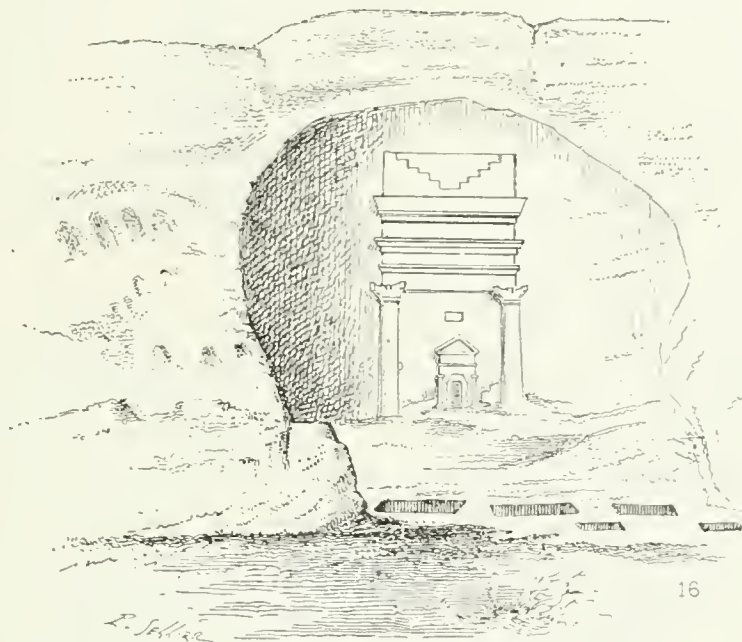
KASR EL BINT

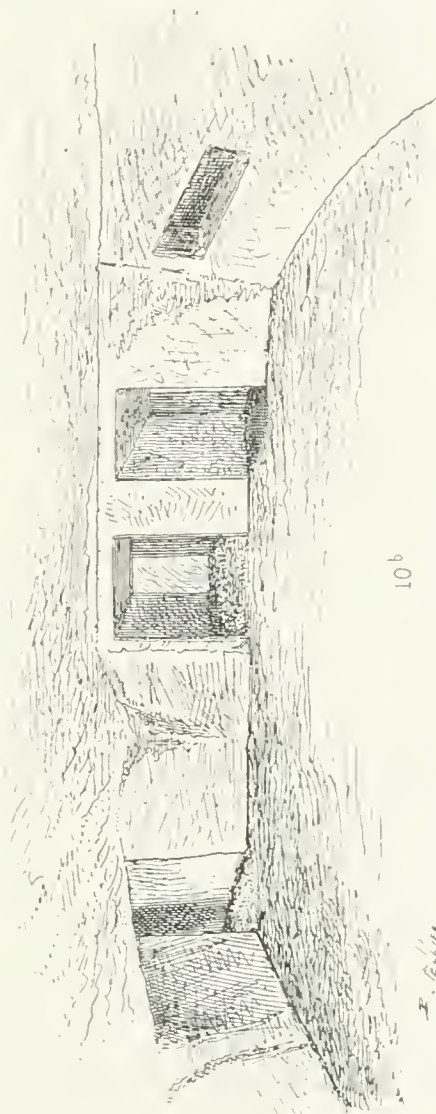
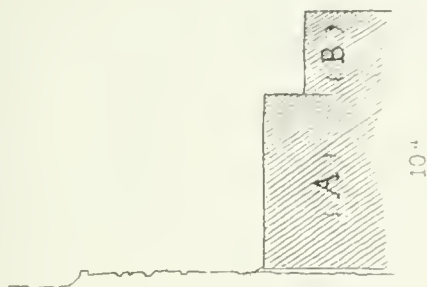
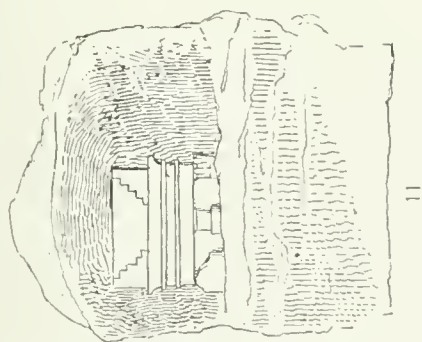
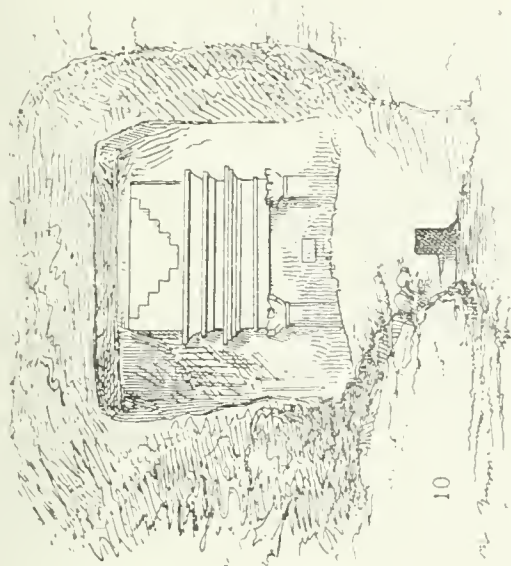
19



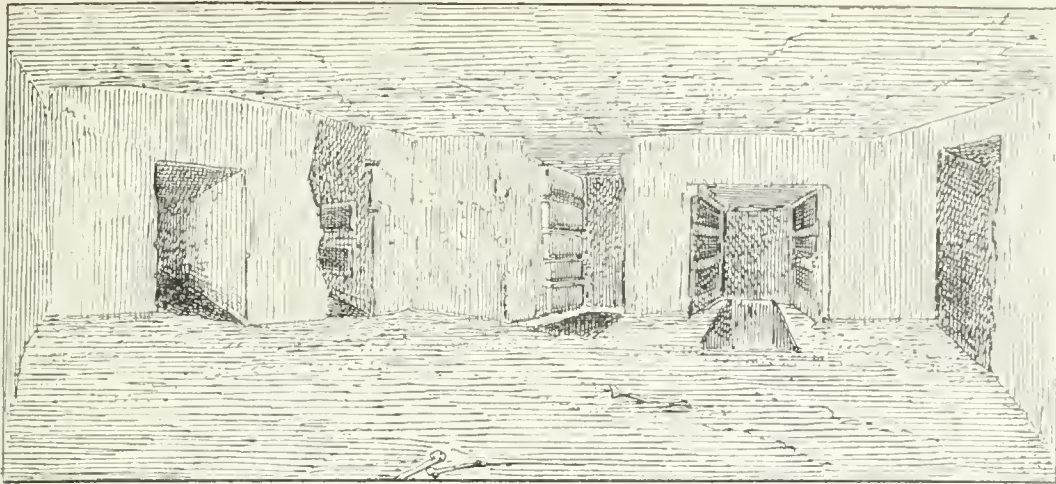
KSUR B'THÆNAH (WESTERN ROCKS)



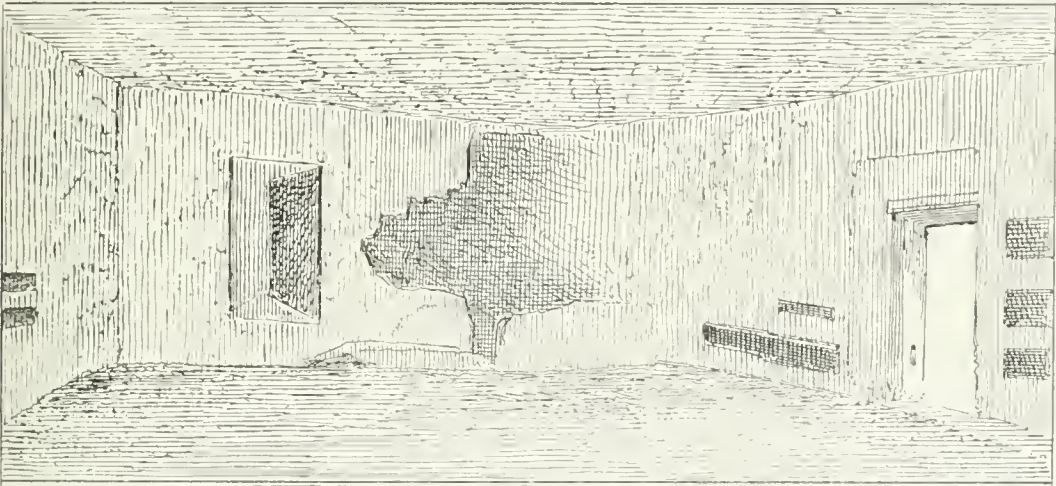




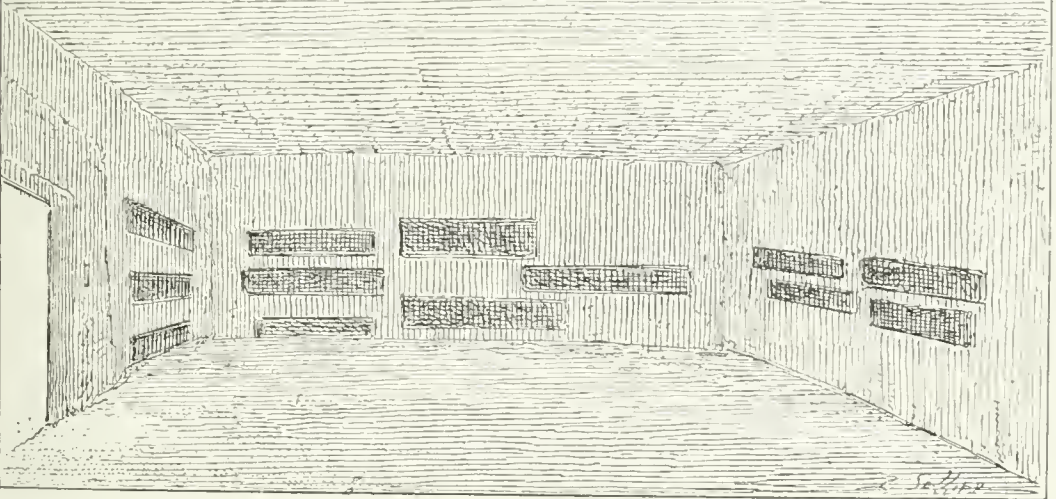
E. G. H.



12

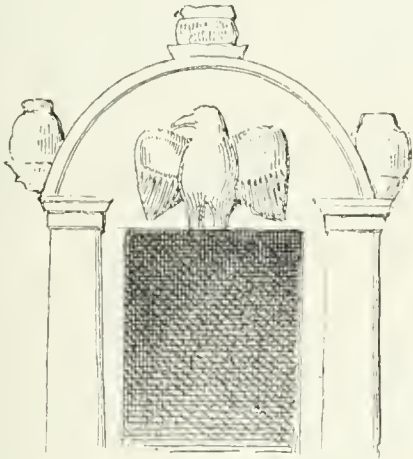


13

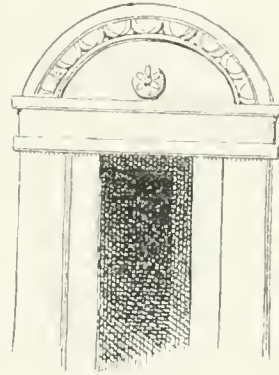


14

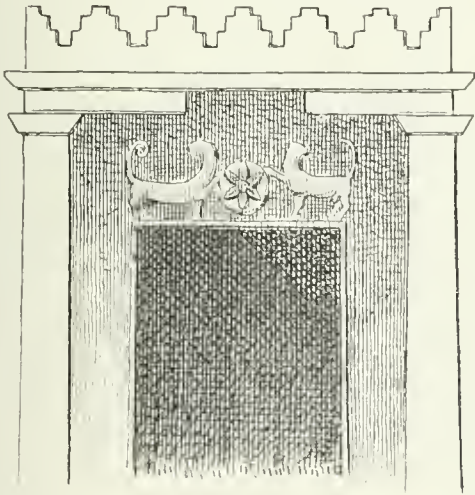
7



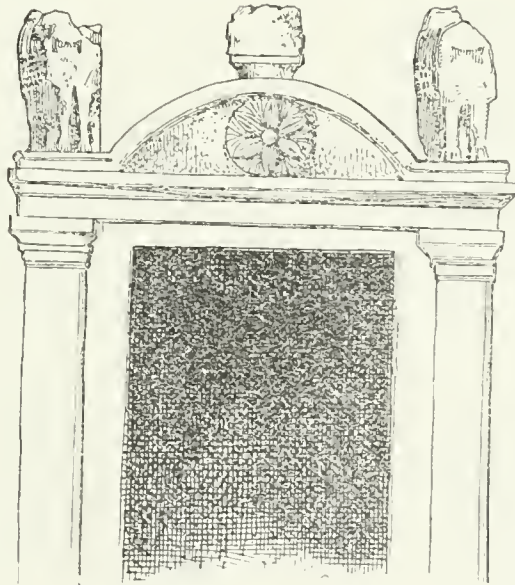
5

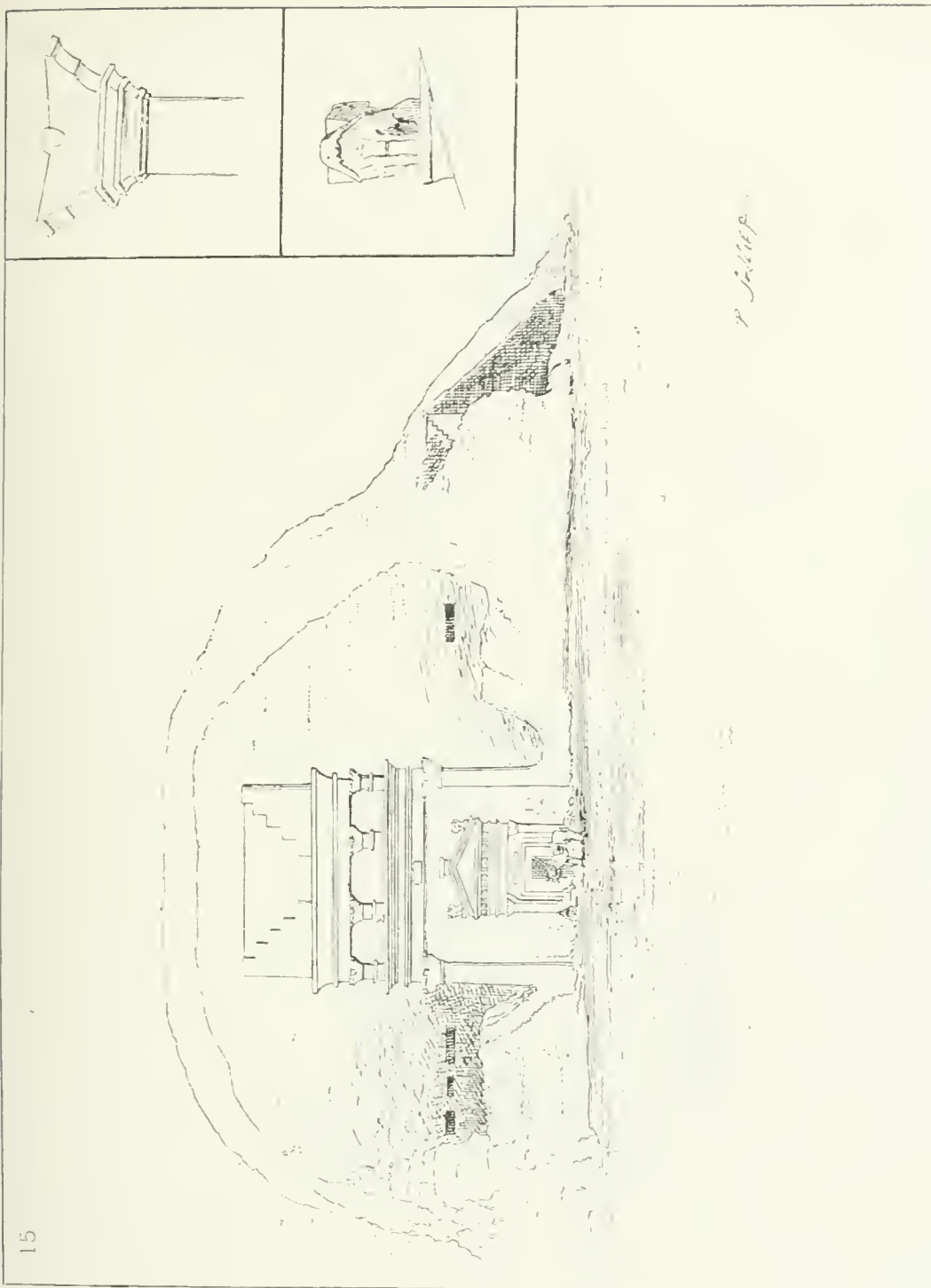


8

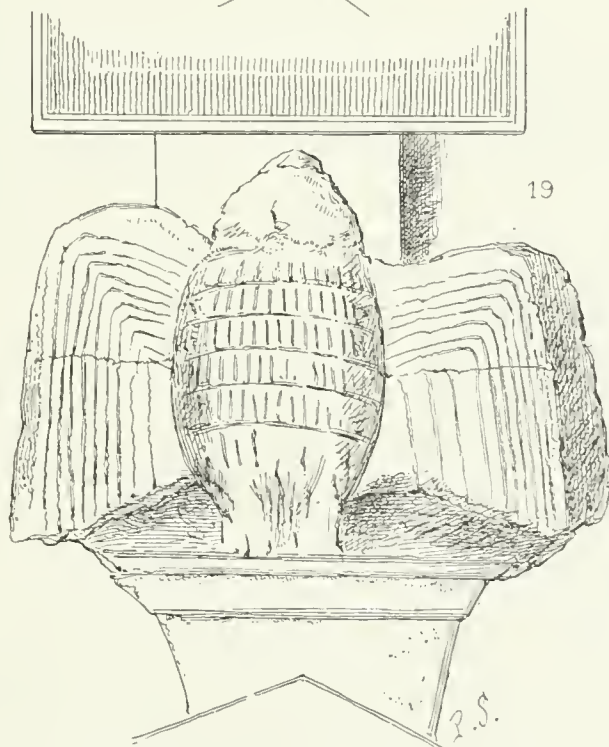
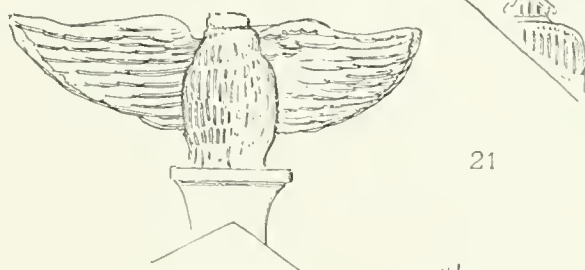


6

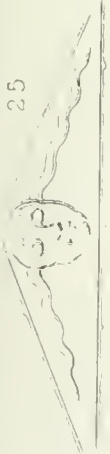




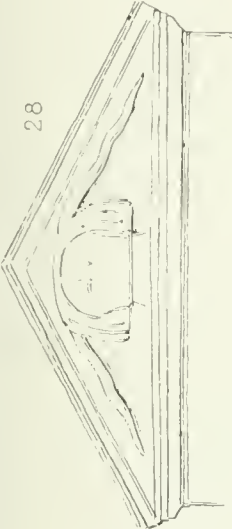
BEIG AKHRAEMAT



25



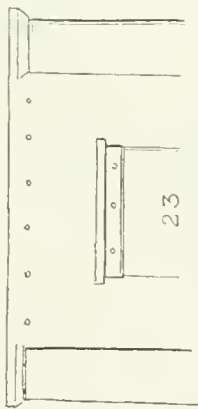
28



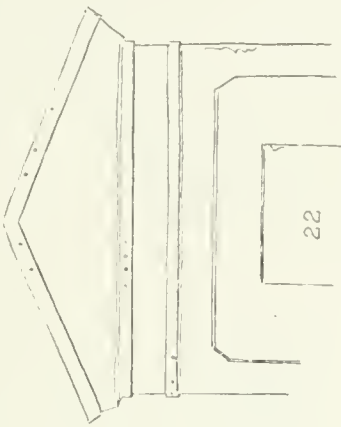
26



23



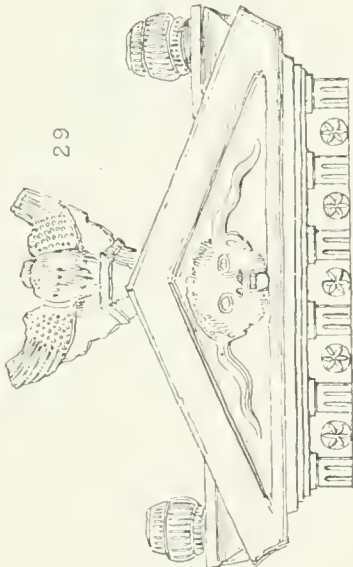
22



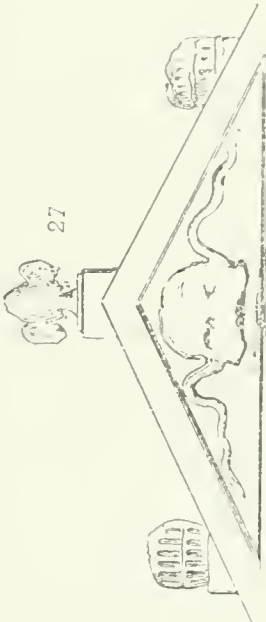
24

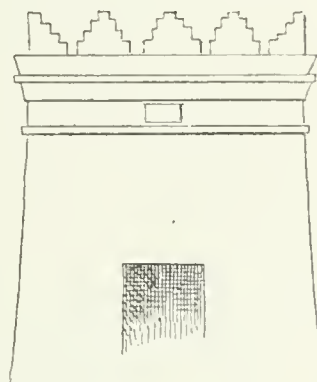


29

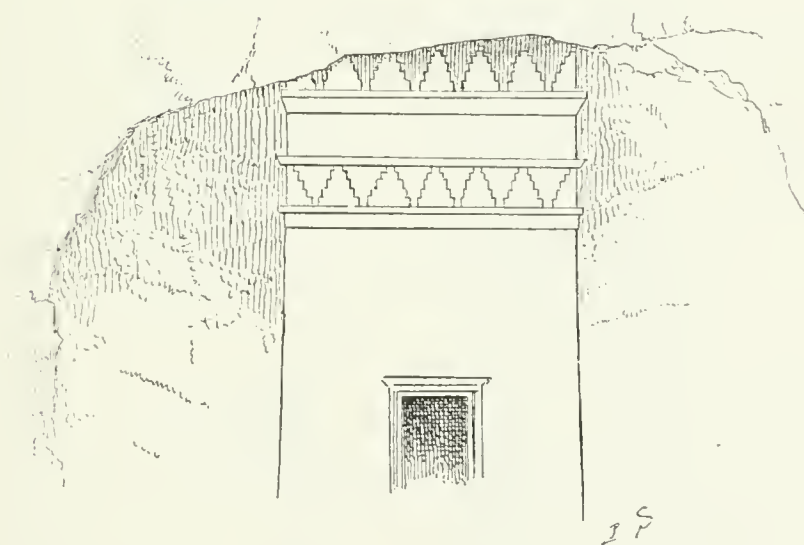


27



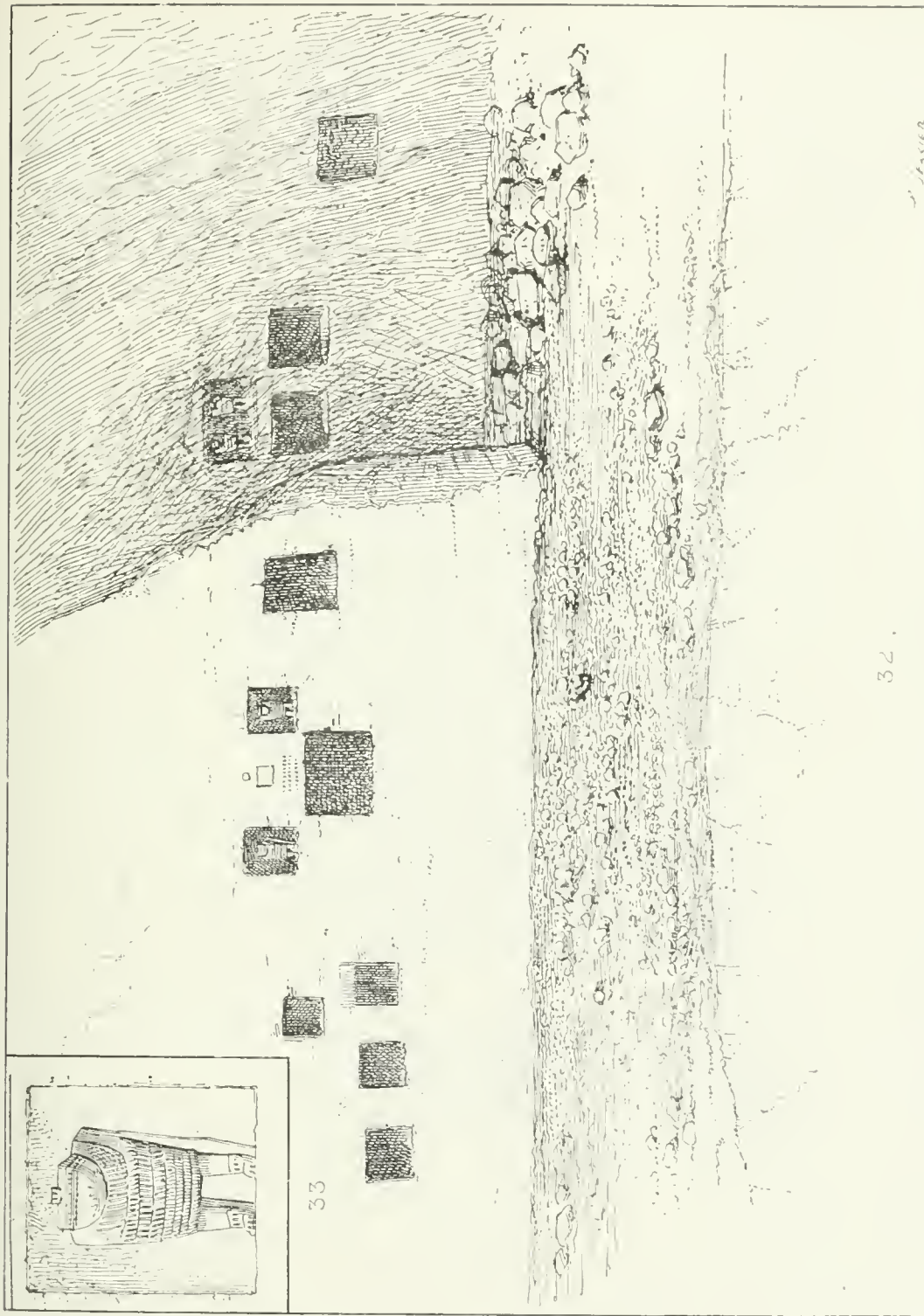


30



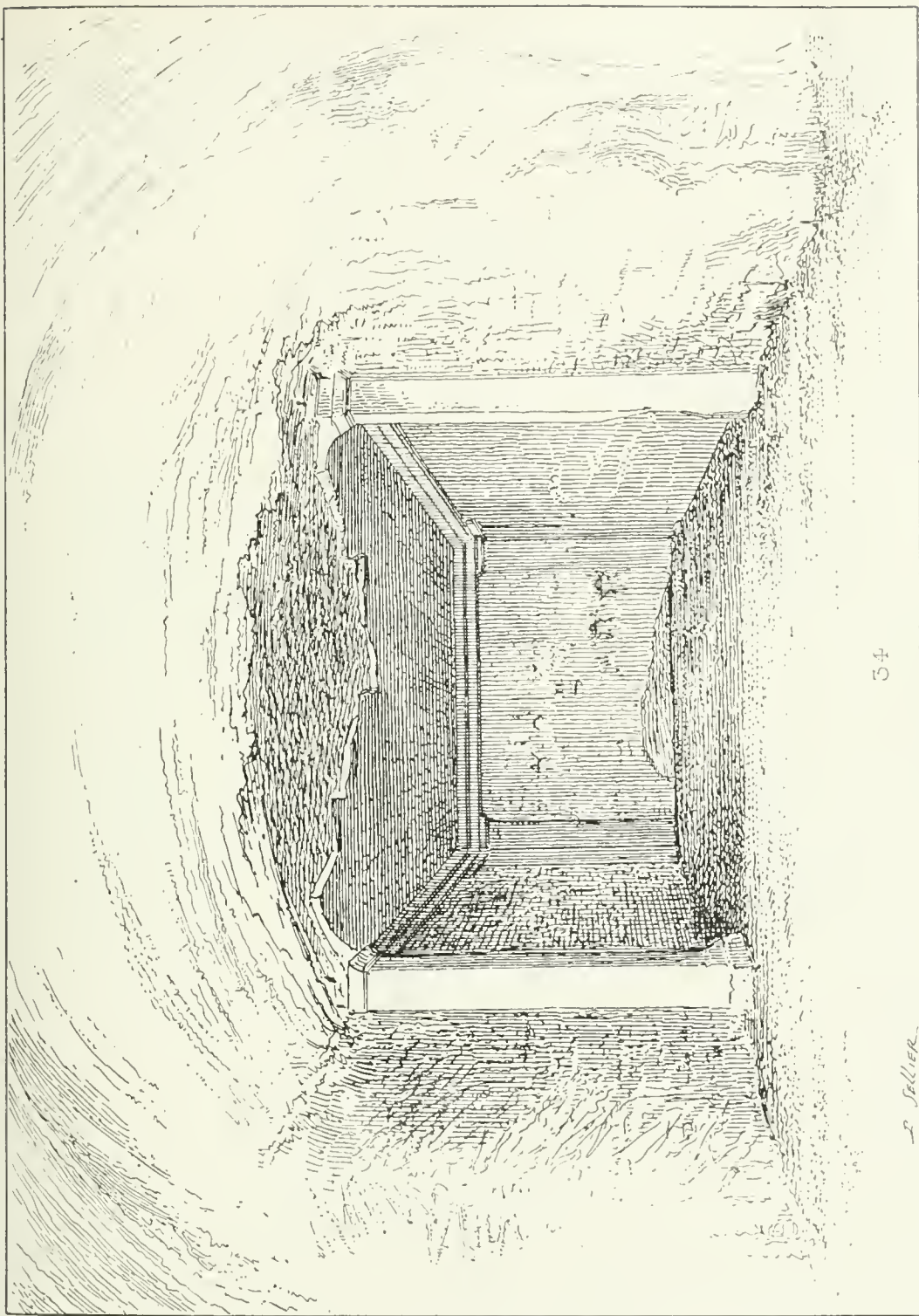
31

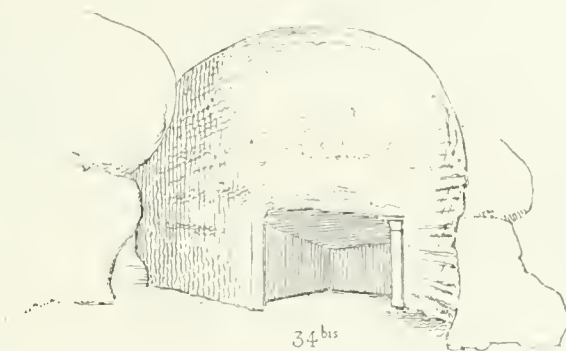
IS



W. H. R. 1862

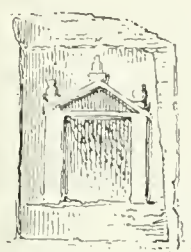
HIMYARITE SEPULCHRES IN THE CLIFF OF FLAKHREBY BY EL ALTY



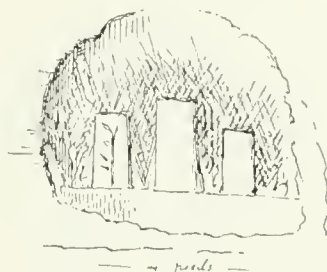


34 bis

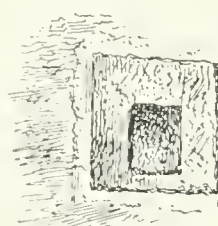
The Diwan



44



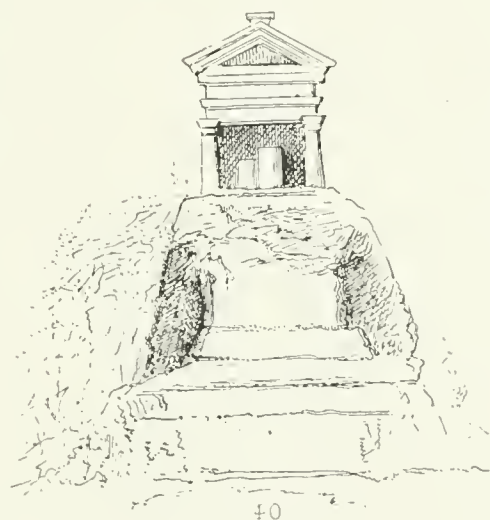
41



45



35



40



46

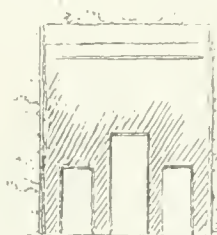
E. Schliemann

42



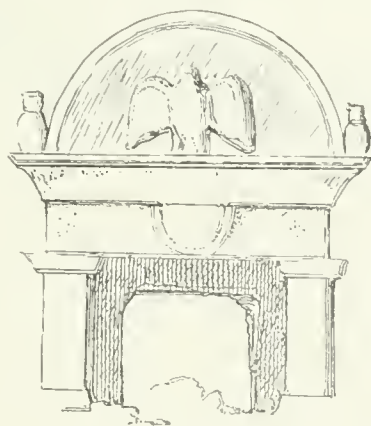
— 2 pieds —

43

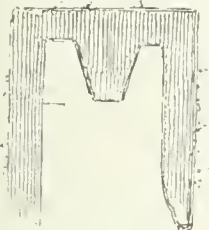


— 2 pieds 3 pouces —

37



39



— 2 pieds 4 pouces —

40

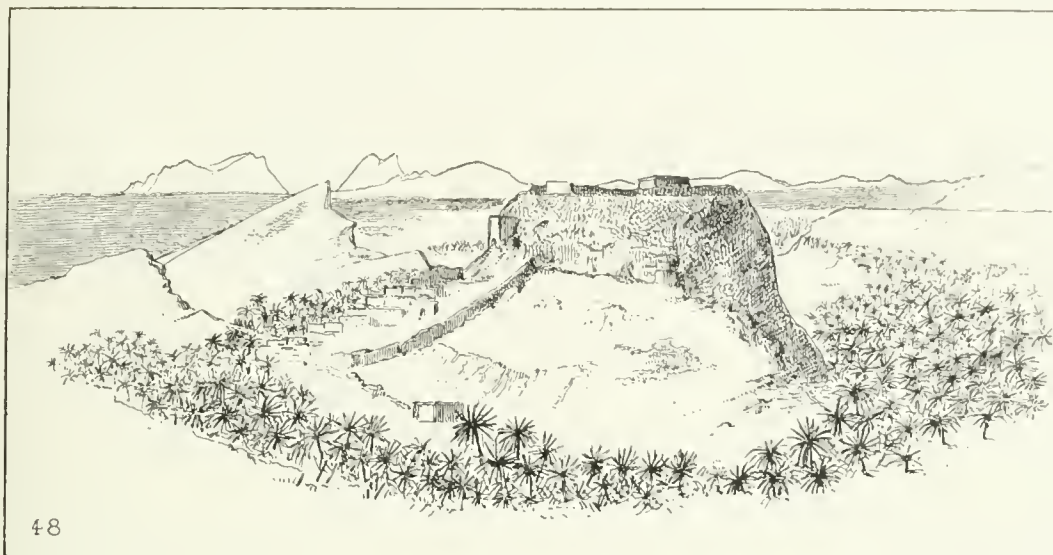


— 2 pieds 4 pouces —

36

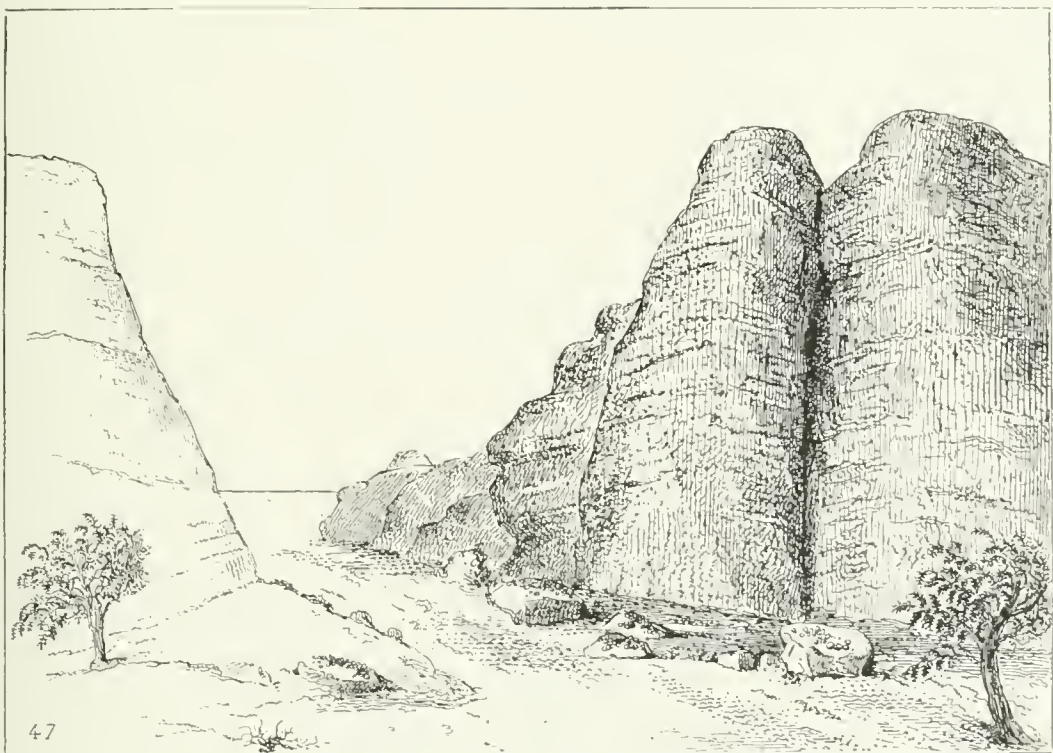


— 6 pieds —



48

KHAYBAR



47

MUBRAK EN NAKA (EL MEZHAM)

51



3ft high
Abu Zaid

him question: say
we has high 20ft
upon a proper wall

very

7 1/2 - 5 1/2
midst 1/2 1/2

Shea his wife

49



Scoring high 25ft

at high
wall
proper



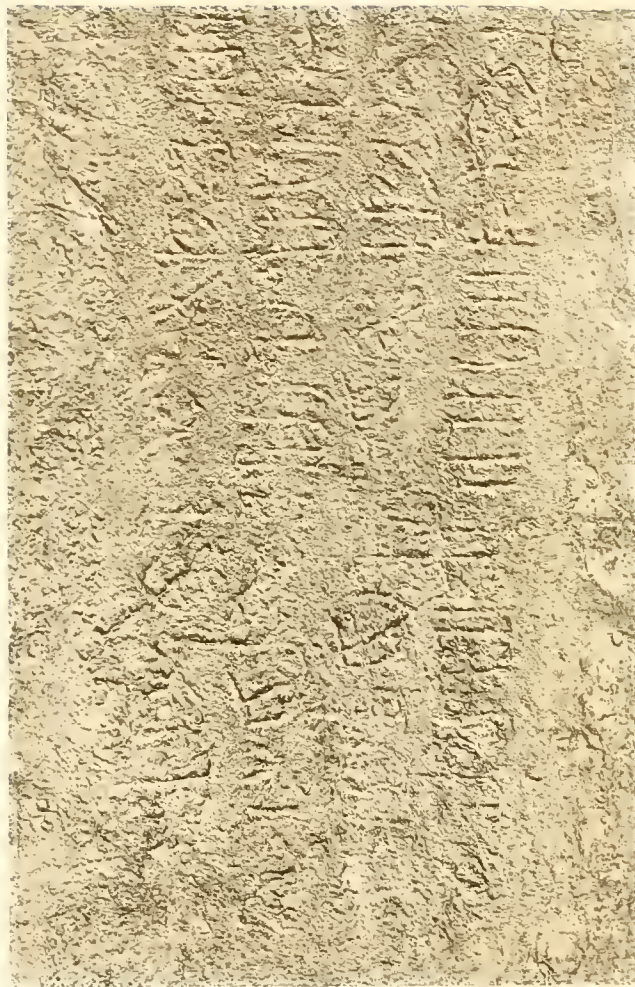
52

opp Xob

dd77dd
+ r o o o
p
e b, c + o



1



0.446

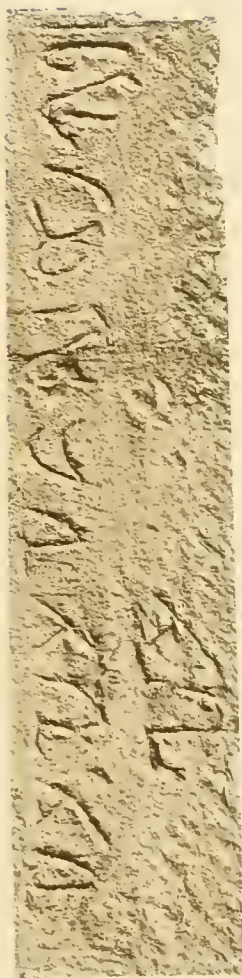
2





0 m 50

2 bis



0 m 425



5
6
7

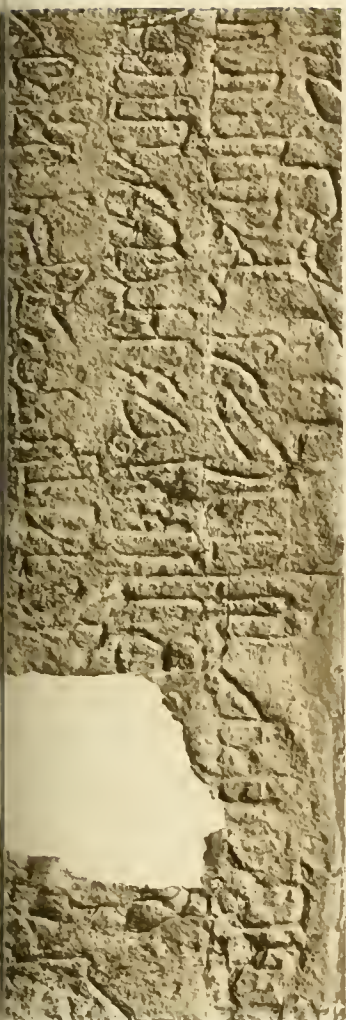


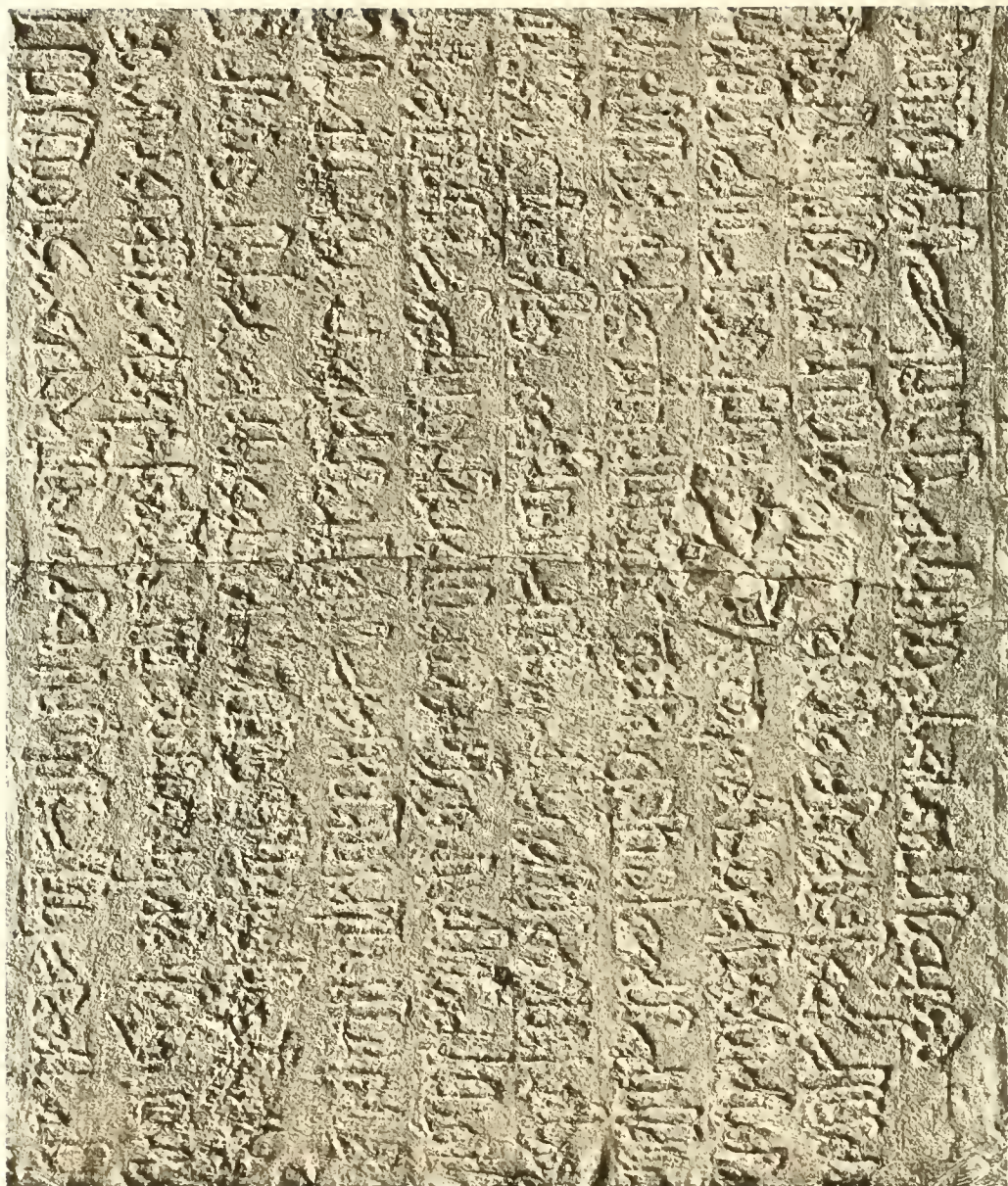
0.4 m

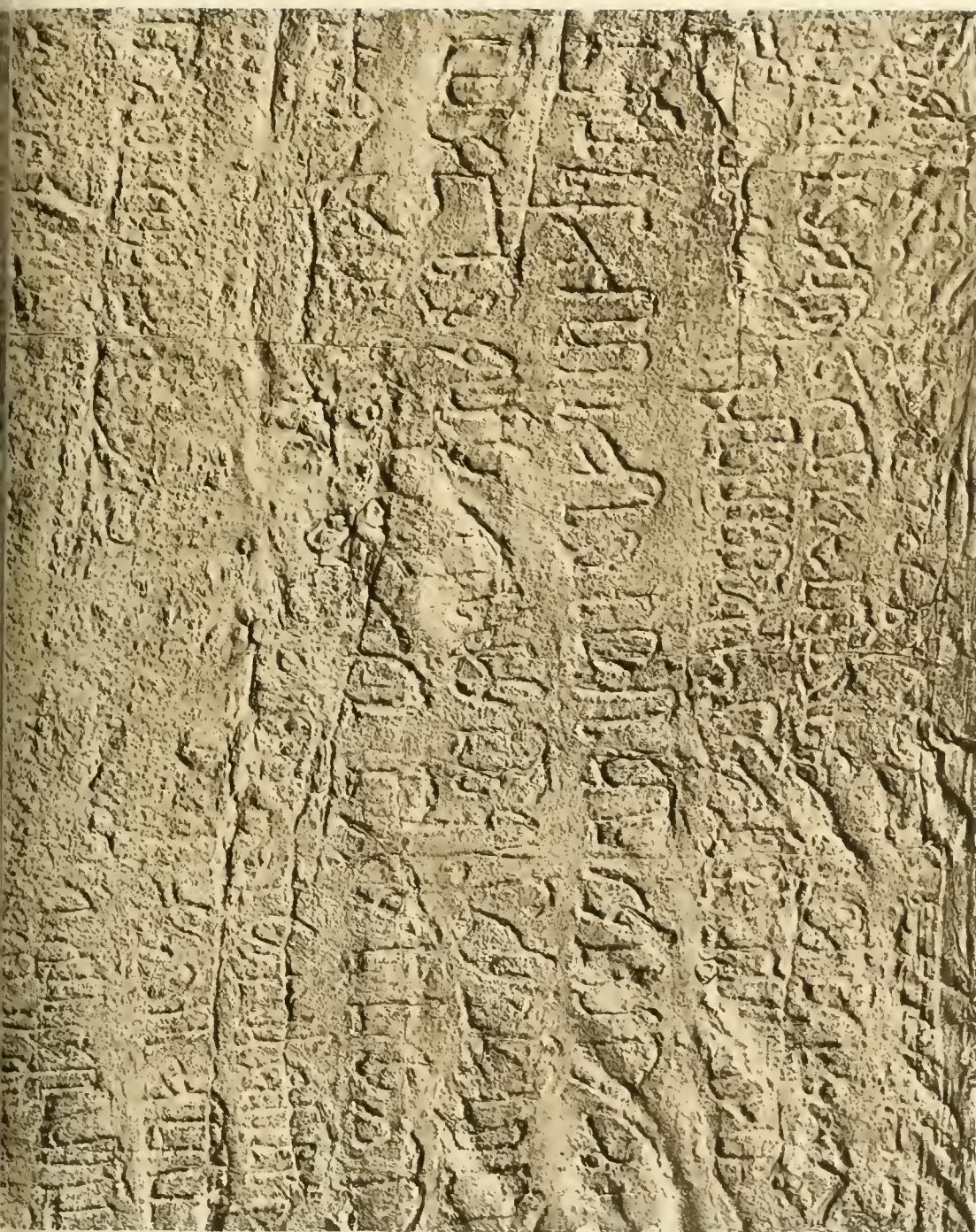


5

0.4 m

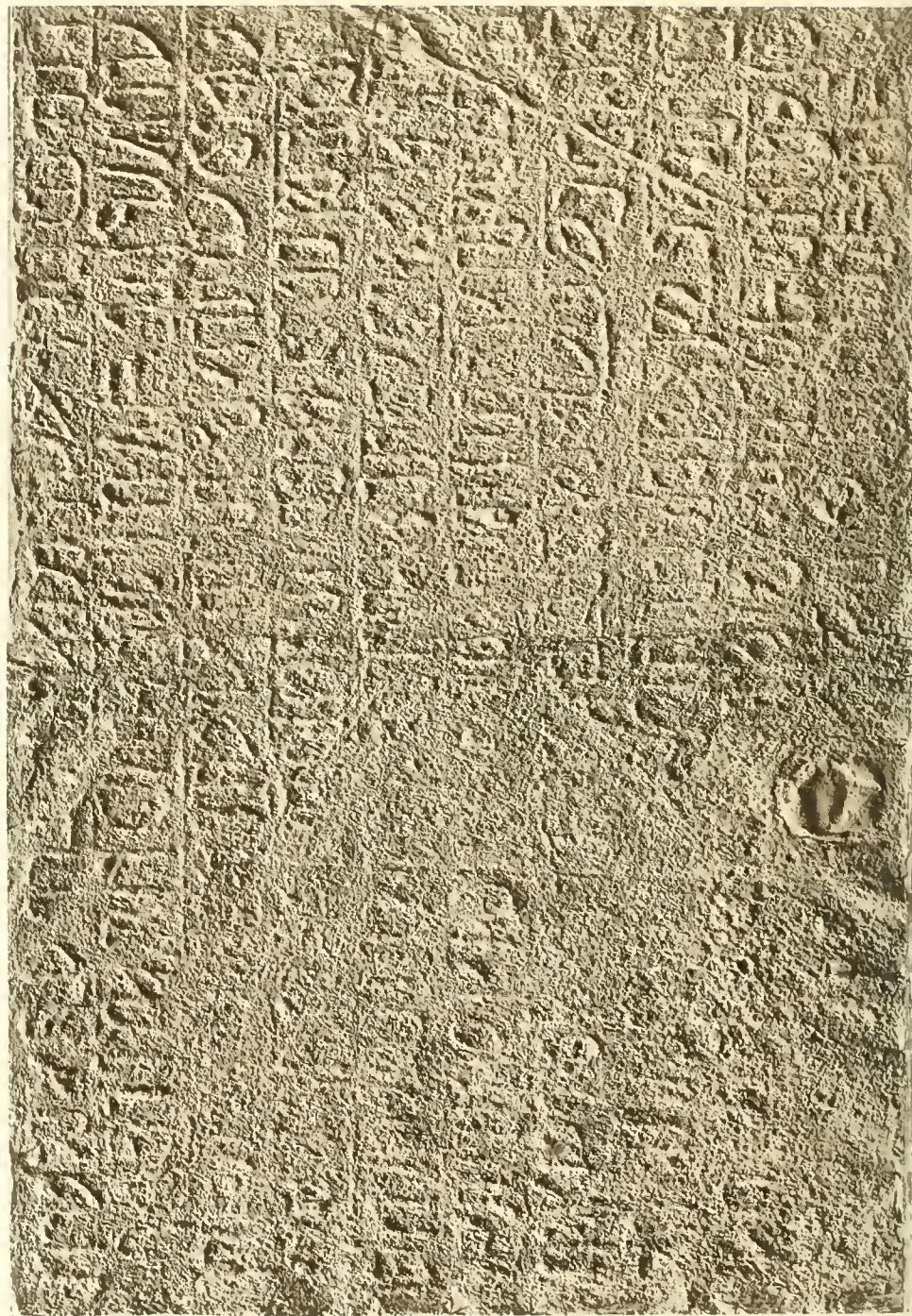


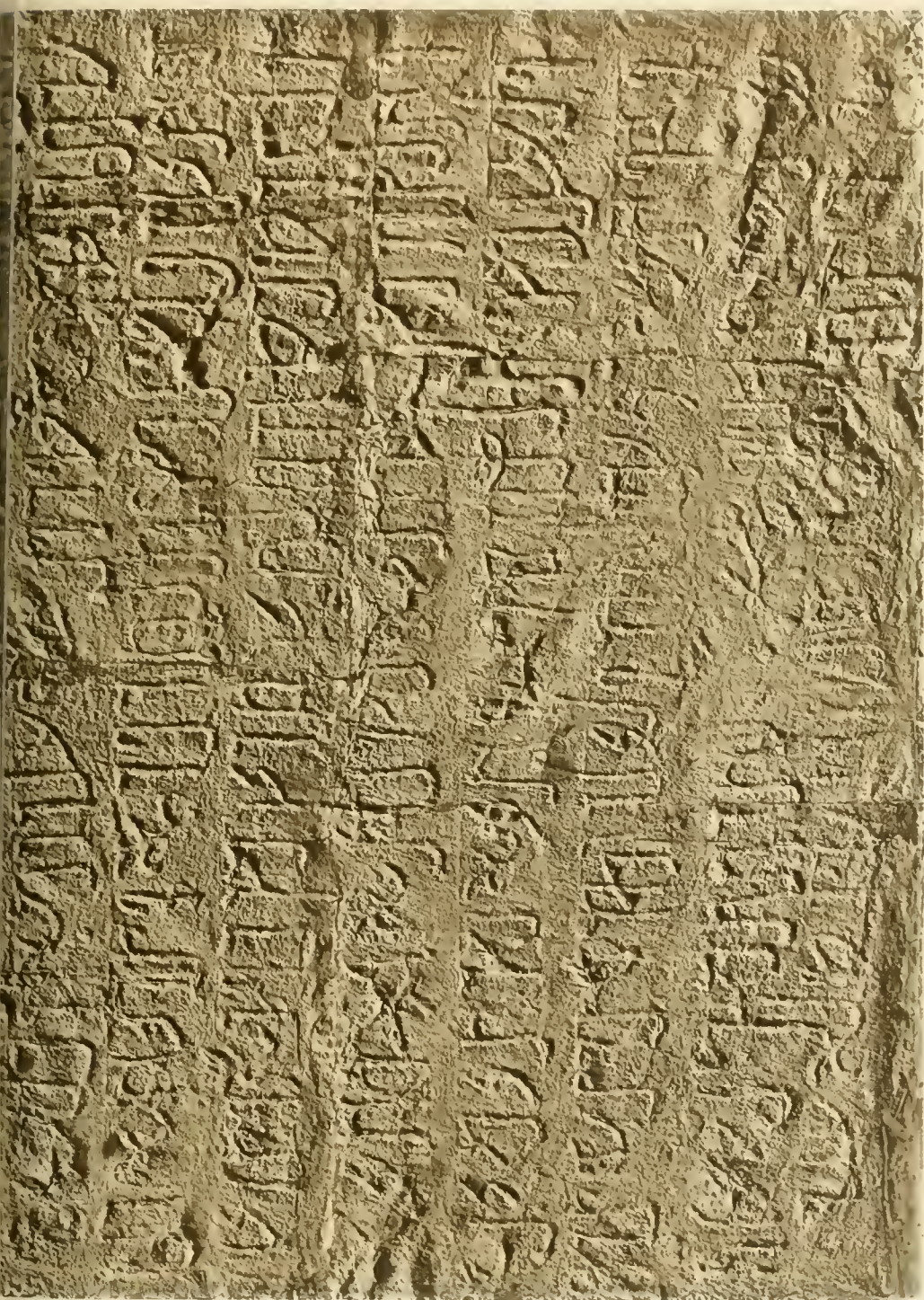




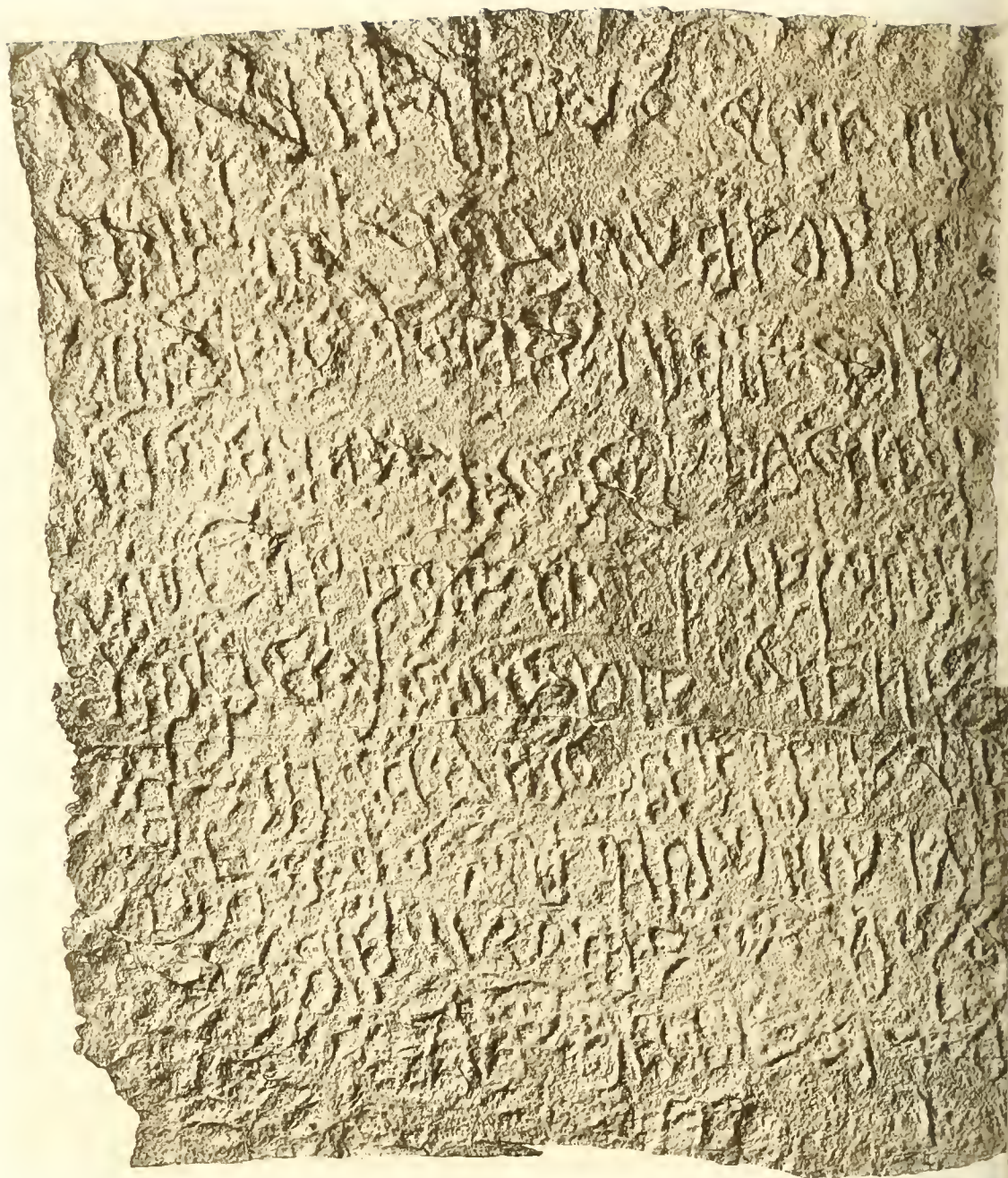
0 m 62

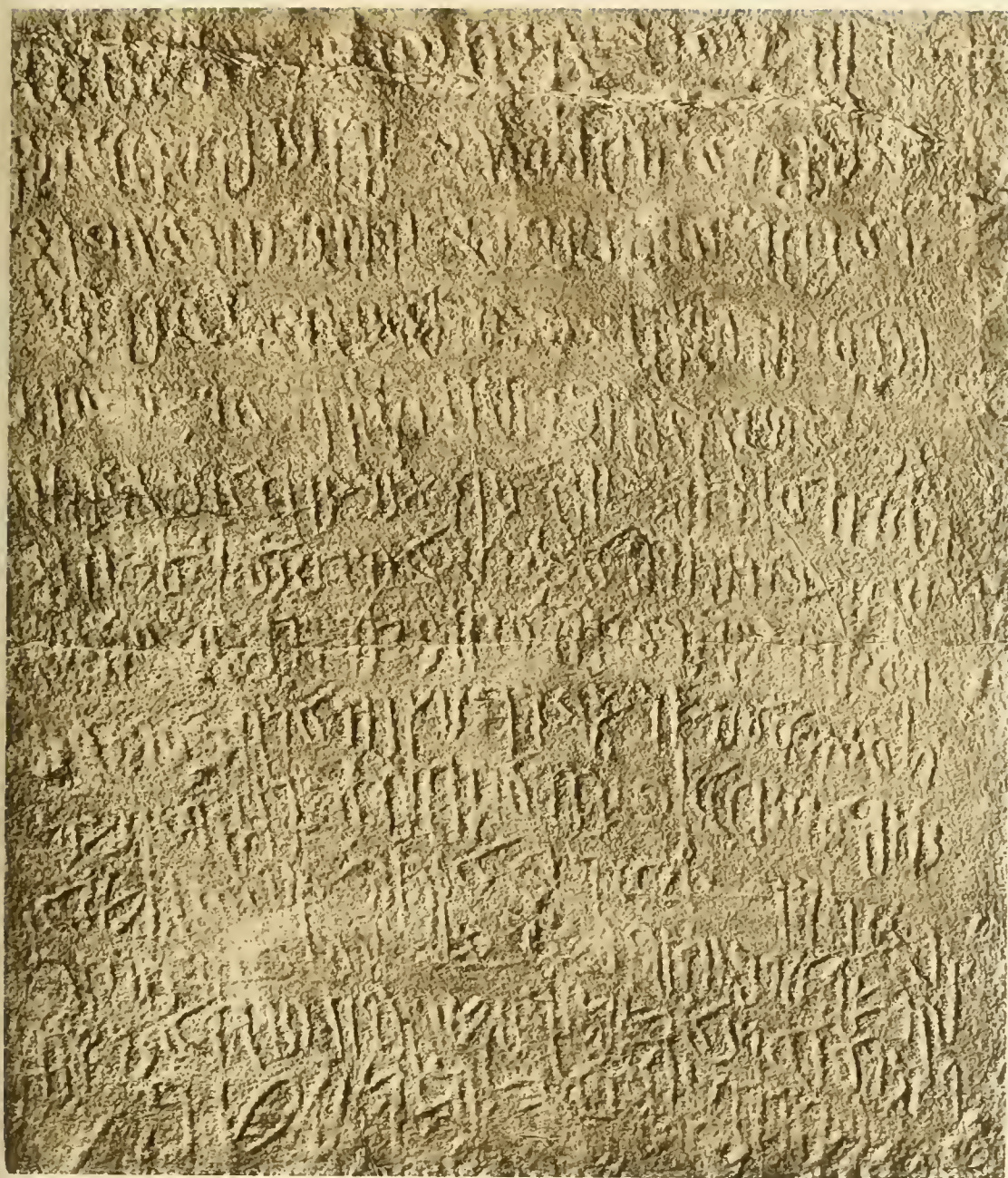
12

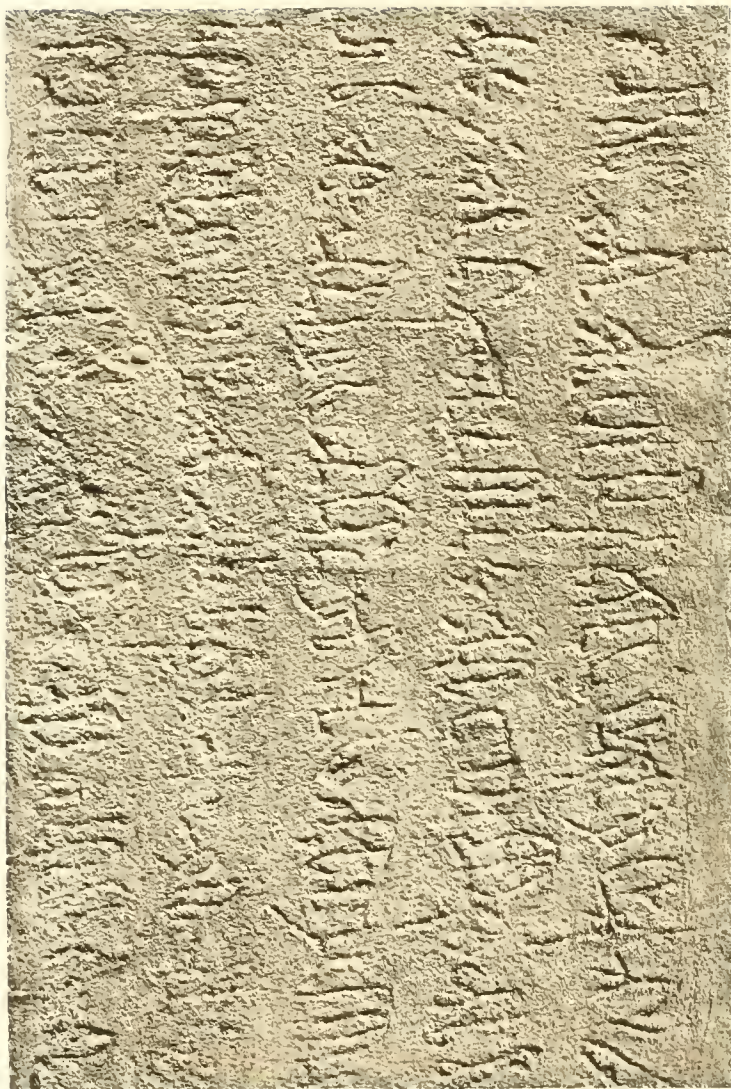




00 00 00

0^m 40



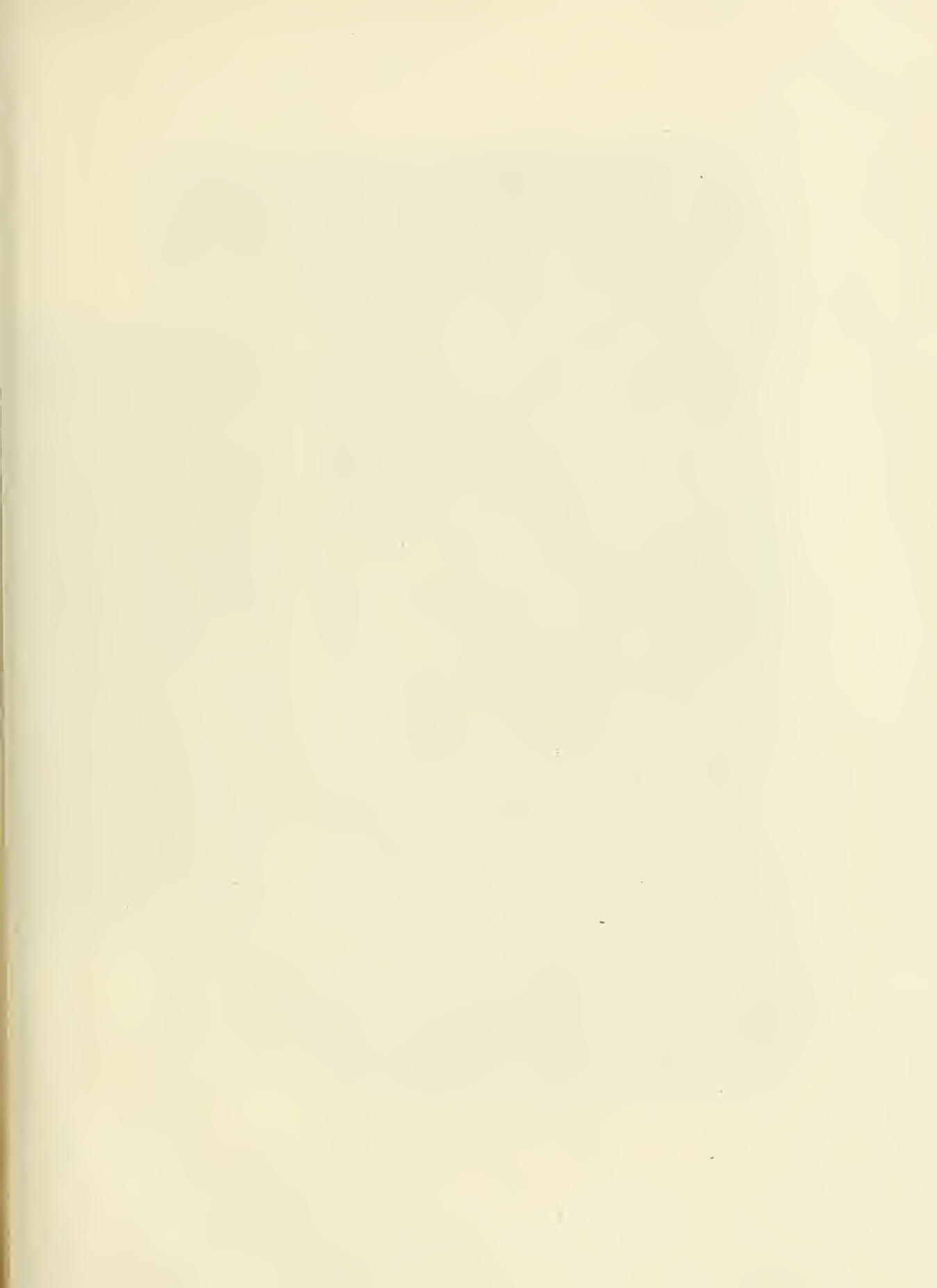


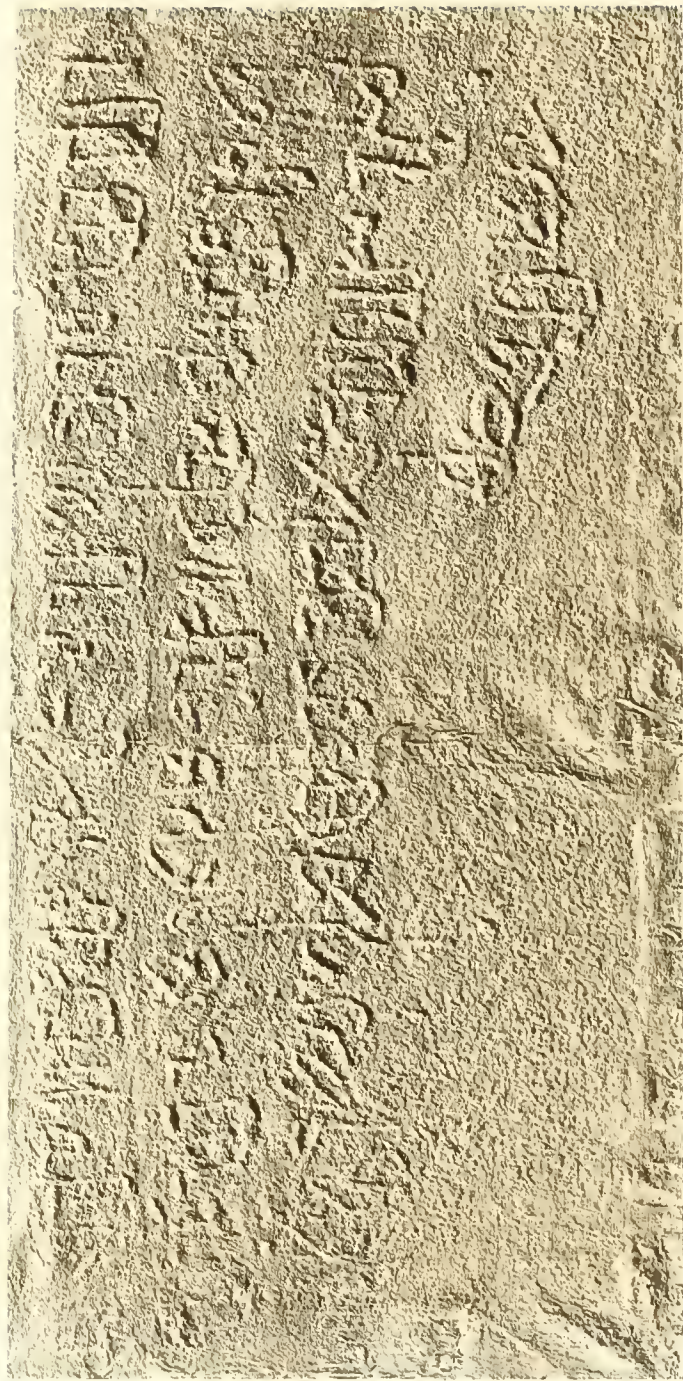
07425



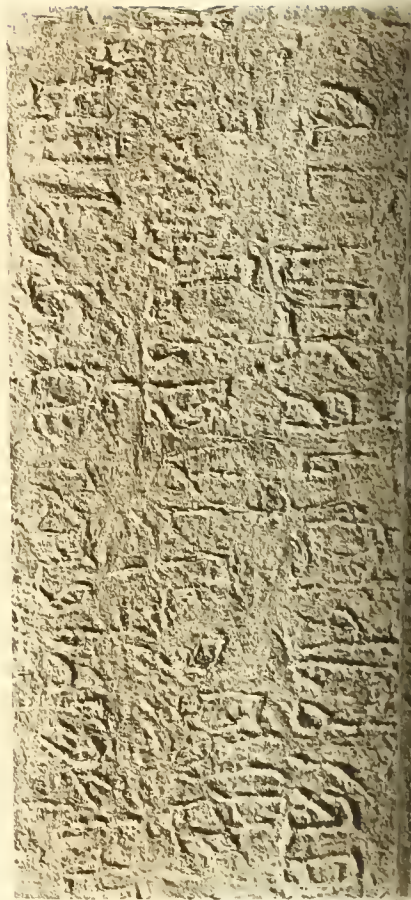


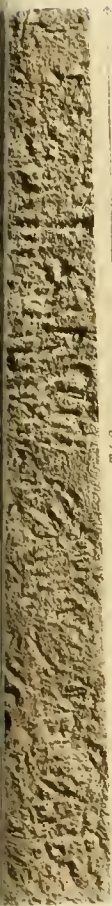
0 m 58





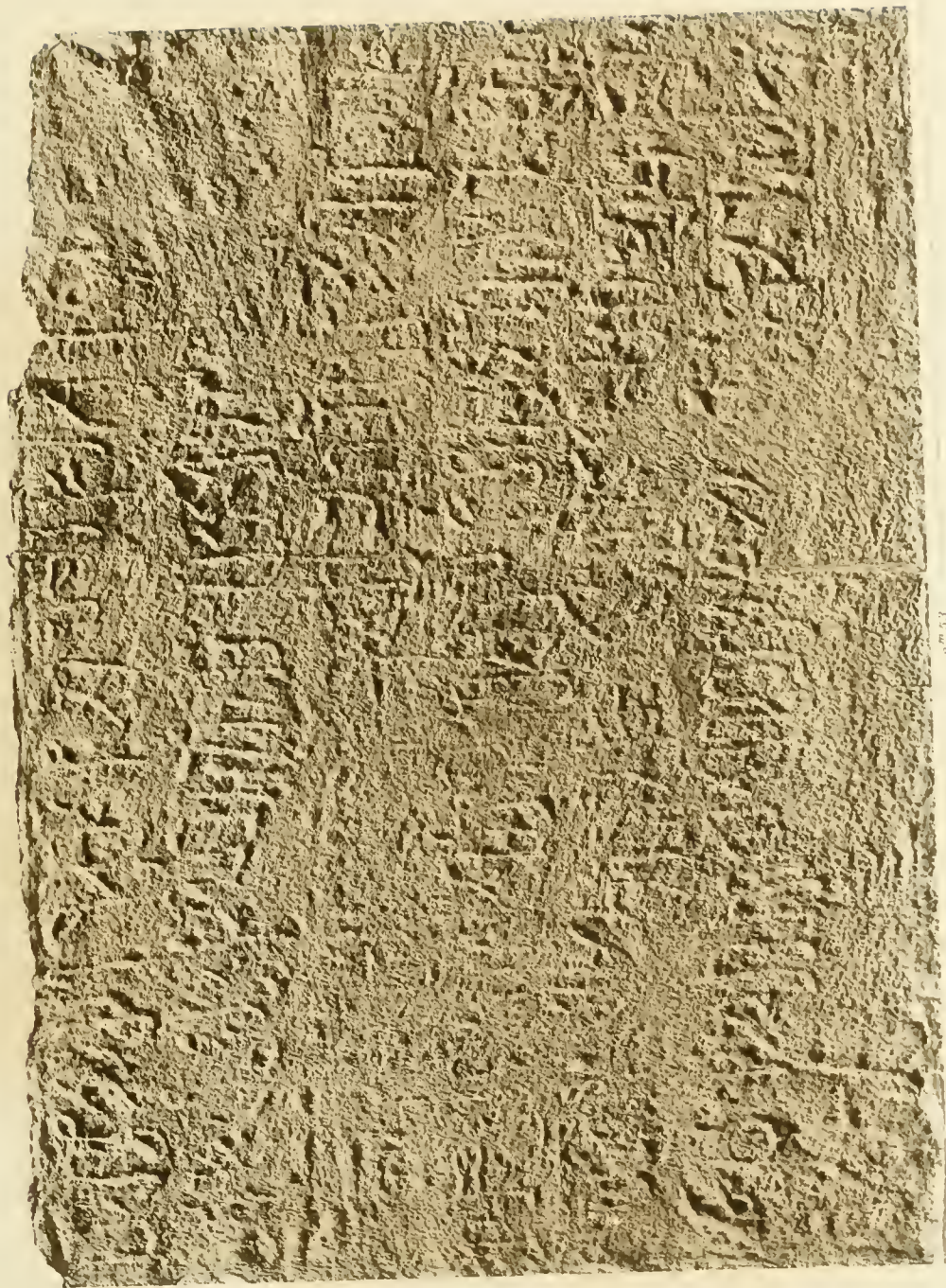
0.154



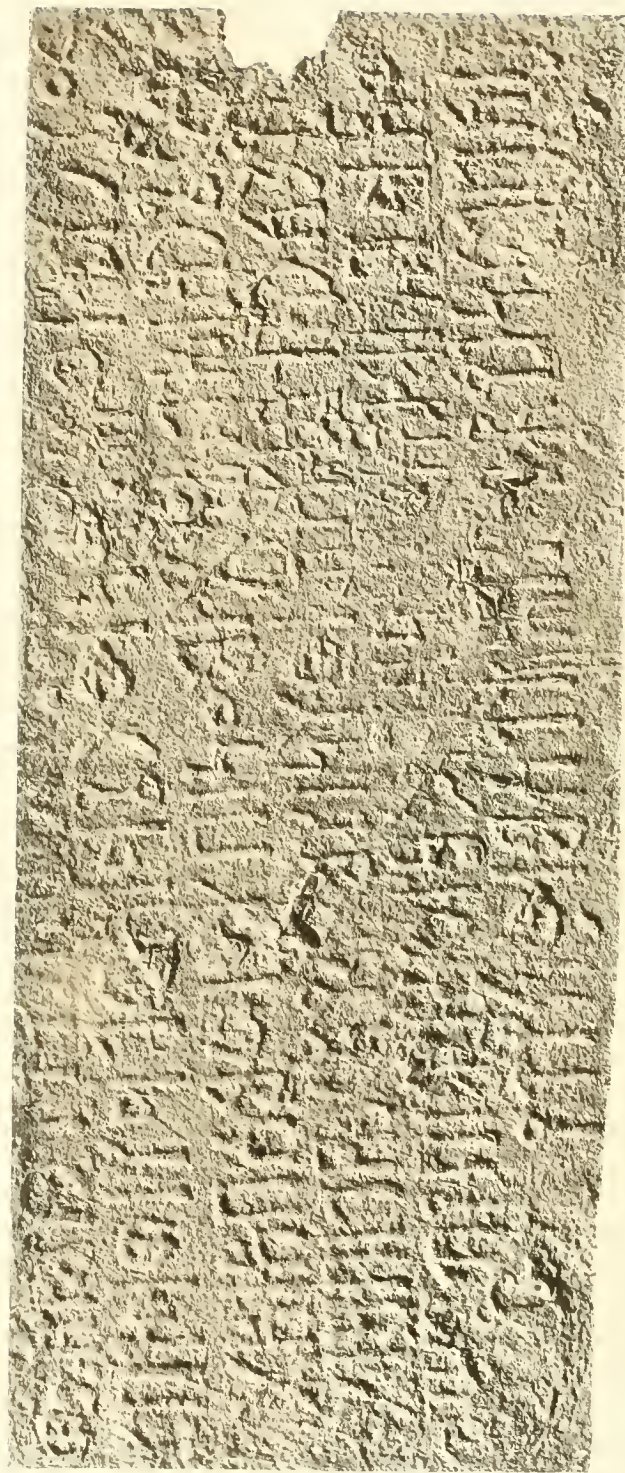


0^m 46

14

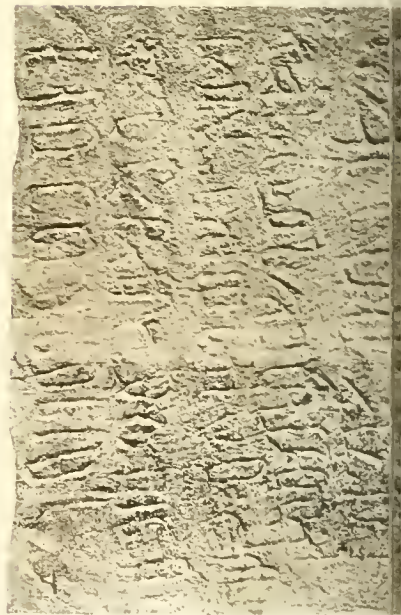


0^m 53

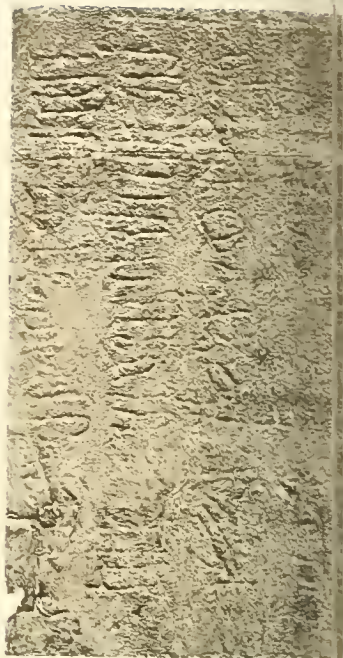


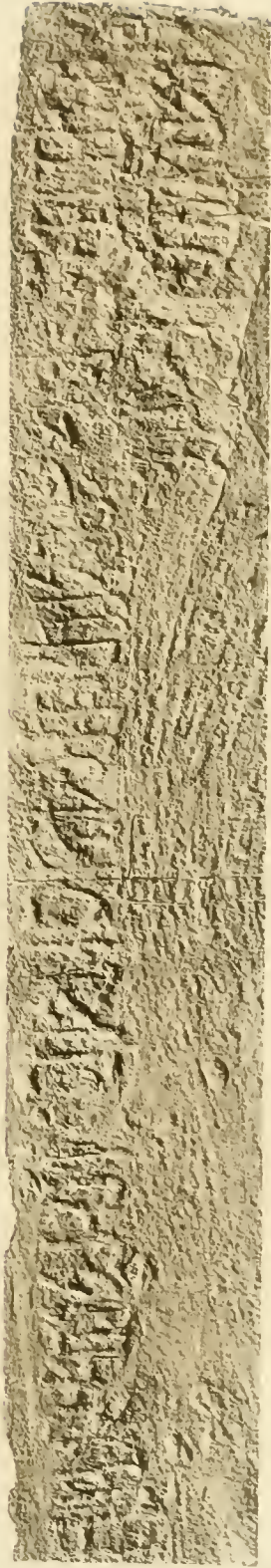
0 m 435

18

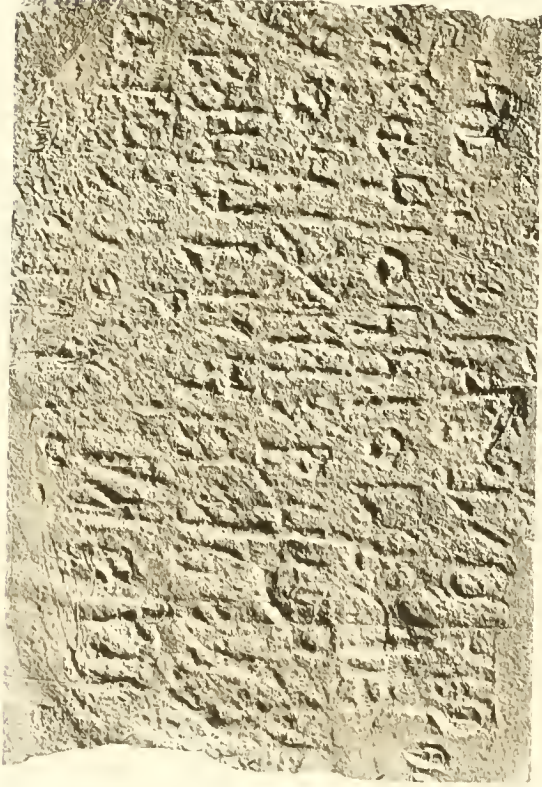


19



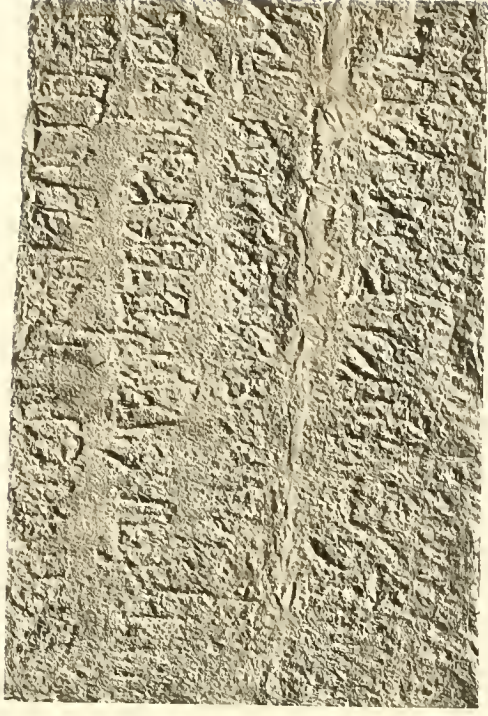


30



0 m 275

20



0 m 45

25



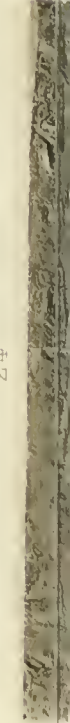
0 m 50

26



0 m 60

24



23





0 m 860



0 m 93

28



0 m 71

27



0 m 70

22



0 m 983



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